UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
3 1761 00067886 2

MEMOIRS

OF THE

AMERICAN ACADEMY

IN ROME

VOLUME II

NEW YORK
UNIVERSITY PRESS ASSOCIATION
CAMBRIDGE: HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
NEW HAVEN: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS
MDCCCCXVIII

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/memoirsofamerica02ameruoft

Archaeol.
A
Art
A

MEMOIRS

OF THE

AMERICAN ACADEMY

IN ROME

VOLUME II

163028
13/6/21

NEW YORK
UNIVERSITY PRESS ASSOCIATION
CAMBRIDGE: HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
NEW HAVEN: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS
MDCCCCXVIII

DG
12
A575
v.2

IN MEMORIAM

JESSE BENEDICT CARTER

Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome,

1907-1912

Director of the American Academy in Rome, 1913-1917.

Died July 20, 1917.

FREDERIC CROWNINSHIELD

Director of the American Academy in Rome, 1909-1911.

Died September 11, 1918.

RICHARD NORTON

Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome,

1899-1907

Died August 1, 1918.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Obituary Notices	3
Table of Contents	5
List of Plates	7
Recent Work of the School of Fine Arts (Plates 1-15)	11
E. Douglas Van Buren, Terracotta Arulae (Plates 16-22)	15
Lucy George Roberts, The Gallic Fire and Roman Archives	55
Albert William Van Buren, Studies in the Archaeology of the Forum at Pompeii (Plates 23-25)	67
Stanley Lothrop, Pietro Cavallini (Plates 26-70)	77
Index	99
Index locorum	101

LIST OF PLATES

PLATES 1-15, *Recent Work of the School of Fine Arts*, facing p. 14.

1. Cortile del Belvedere and Cortile della Pigna in the Vatican. See p. 11.
2. Capital, Temple of Mars Ultor, Rome. See p. 11.
3. Palace of Domitian, Palatine, Rome. See p. 11.
4. Ponte Senatorio, Rome. See p. 11.
5. Fountain and Colonnade, Piazza di S. Pietro, Rome. See p. 11.
6. Circular Pavilion at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli. See p. 12 f.
7. Villa Gamberaia: planting plan. See p. 13 f.
8. Villa Gamberaia: A, principal elevation. B, side elevation. See p. 13 f.
9. Bas-relief. See p. 14.
10. Equestrian Statue. See p. 14.
11. *Peasant.* See p. 14.
12. *Fig Tree.* See p. 14.
13. *Rape of Europa.* See p. 14.
14. *Commerce.* See p. 14.
15. Sanctuary of a Catholic Church. See p. 14.

PLATES 16-22, *Terracotta Arulae*, facing p. 54. See pp. 15-53.

PLATES 23-25, *Studies in the Archaeology of the Forum at Pompeii*, facing p. 76.

23. Fragments of Acrolithic Cult Statues from the Forum at Pompeii. See pp. 68-70.
24. The Forum at Pompeii, from the South. (Alinari). See pp. 67-76.
25. Fig. 1, The Curia of Pompeii: Plan. (This, and the plan in the text, are after CAGNAT and CHAPOT). See p. 73.

    Fig. 2, The Same: Longitudinal Section. (After Mazois). See p. 73.

    Fig. 3, The Same: Cross Section. (After Mazois). See p. 73.

    Fig. 4, The Forum at Pompeii, from the South, showing the ianus. See pp. 67-76, especially p. 72 f.

PLATES 26–70, *Pietro Cavallini*, facing p. 98.

26. Figs. 1-4, SS. Quattro Coronati, Chapel of S. Silvester. *Four scenes from the life of Constantine.* (Alinari). See p. 78.
27. Sta. Maria in Trastevere. *Madonna with St. Peter, St. Paul and donor.* (Alinari). See p. 80.
28. Sta. Maria in Trastevere. *Birth of the Madonna.* (Alinari). See p. 80.
29. Sta. Maria in Trastevere. Fig. 1, *Annunciation.* (Alinari). See p. 80.

    Fig. 2, *Nativity.* (Alinari). See p. 80.
30. Sta. Maria in Trastevere. Fig. 1, *Adoration of the Magi.* (Alinari). See p. 80.

    Fig. 2, *Presentation in the Temple.* (Alinari). See p. 81.
31. Sta. Maria in Trastevere. *Death of the Virgin.* (Alinari). See p. 81.
32. Sta. Cecilia. *Last Judgment.* (Gabinetto fotografico del Ministero). See p. 82.
33. Sta. Cecilia. Detail of Pl. 32, *Figure of Christ.* (Anderson). See p. 82.

34. Sta. Cecilia. Fig. 1, *St. John Baptist.* (Alinari). See p. 82.
Fig. 2, *Madonna.* (Alinari). See p. 82 f.
35. Sta. Cecilia. *Apostles.* (Alinari). See p. 83.
36. Sta. Cecilia. Figs. 1, 2, *Heads of Apostles.* (Alinari). See p. 83.
37. Sta. Cecilia. Fig. 1, 2, *Angels.* (Alinari). See p. 83.
38. Sta. Cecilia. Fig. 1, *Angel and the Blessed.* (Alinari). See p. 83.
Fig. 2, *Annunciation.* (Alinari). See p. 83.
39. Vatican Library, Drawings in Codex Barberinianus.
Fig. 1, *Saint in armor.*
Fig. 2, *King asleep.* See p. 84.
40. S. Crisogono. *Madonna and Child, with Saints Crisogono and James.* (Gabinetto fotografico del Ministero). See p. 85.
41. S. Giorgio in Velabro. *Christ in Benediction.* (Gabinetto fotografico del Ministero). See p. 85.
42. Sta. Maria in Aracoeli. Tomb of Cardinal Matteo. *The Virgin and Child with Saints John and Francis.* (Alinari). See p. 86.
43. Assisi, S. Francesco. *Separation of Light from Darkness, and Building of the Ark.* (Alinari). See p. 86 f.
44. Assisi, S. Francesco. *Sacrifice of Isaac.* (Alinari). See p. 87.
45. Assisi, S. Francesco. Fig. 1, *Deception of Isaac.* (Alinari). See p. 87.
Fig. 2, *Esau demanding his Father's Blessing.* (Alinari). See p. 87.
46. Assisi, S. Francesco. Fig. 1, *Joseph and his Brethren.* (Alinari). See p. 88.
Fig. 2, *The Nativity.* (Alinari). See p. 88.
47. Assisi, S. Francesco. Fig. 1, *The Betrayal.* (Alinari). See p. 89.
Fig. 2, *The Deposition.* (Alinari). See p. 89.
48. Perugia, Palazzo Comunale. *Moses and the Burning Bush.* (Gabinetto fotografico del Ministero). See p. 91.
49. Perugia, Palazzo Comunale. Fig. 1, *Creation of Eve.* (Gabinetto fotografico del Ministero). See p. 91.
Fig. 2, *Sacrifices of Cain and Abel.* (Gabinetto fotografico del Ministero). See p. 92.
50. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. Detail of *Paradise.* (Alinari). See p. 94.
51. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. Detail of same: *The Blessed.* (Alinari). See p. 94.
52. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. Fig. 1, *The Last Supper.*
Fig. 2, *Christ washing his Disciples' Feet.*
Fig. 3, *The Garden of Gethsemane.*
Fig. 4, *The Betrayal.* See p. 94.
53. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. *The Flagellation.* See p. 95.
54. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. *Christ led to Pilate.* See p. 95.
55. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. Detail of the same. See p. 95.
56. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. *Christ on the Road to Calvary.* (Alinari). See p. 95.
57. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. *Christ fastened to the Cross.* See p. 95.
58. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. Detail of the same. (Alinari). See p. 95.
59. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. Fig. 1, *The Crucifixion.* (Alinari). See p. 95.
Fig. 2, *The Deposition.* (Alinari). See p. 95.
60. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. Fig. 1, *Christ in Limbus.* (Alinari). See p. 95.
Fig. 2, *Christ appearing to the three Marys.* (Alinari). See p. 95.
61. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. *The Doubting Thomas.* See p. 95.
62. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. Detail of same. (Alinari). See p. 95.
63. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. *The Supper at Emmaus; The Breaking of Bread.* (Alinari). See p. 95.
64. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. *Head of the St. Thomas.* (Alinari). See p. 96.
65. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. *The Prophet Haggai* and *St. Philip.* (Alinari). See p. 96.
66. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. Detail of same. See p. 96.
67. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. *St. Agnes conducted to a House of Ill-fame.* See p. 96.
68. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. Detail of same. (Alinari). See p. 96.
69. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. Fig. 1, *Martyrdom of St. Agnes.* (Alinari). See p. 96.
Fig. 2, *St. Agnes appears to the Daughter of Constantine.* See p. 97.
70. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina. *Thrones, Dominions, Archangels.* See p. 97.

RECENT WORK OF THE SCHOOL OF FINE ARTS.

(PLATES 1 – 15)

IT has been decided by the Trustees of the American Academy in Rome to present each year in the Memoirs a selection of plates reproducing the work of the Fellows of the School of Fine Arts. For the present volume the following fifteen subjects have been chosen.

Pl. 1. Restoration of the Cortile di Belvedere and of the Cortile della Pigna in the Vatican, as designed by Bramante: cross section.

Kenneth E. Carpenter, Fellow in Architecture, 1912-15.

At the time of his death Bramante had only completed a small portion of his important design for the Vatican. The artists who were called to complete his work changed the original plan to a deplorable extent. Mr. Carpenter's restoration is based on careful measurements of the existing portions which may be attributed to Bramante, supplemented by the information gained from the original sketches of the artist and his contemporaries.

Pl. 2. Capital, Temple of Mars Ultor, Rome.

Drawn and rendered by Walter L. Ward, Fellow in Architecture, 1913-16.
Measured by Kenneth E. Carpenter, Fellow in Architecture, 1912-15.

Pl. 3. Palace of Domitian, Palatine, Rome: restored plan.

William J. H. Hough, Fellow in Architecture, 1914-17.

Pl. 4. Ponte Senatorio, Rome.

William J. H. Hough, Fellow in Architecture, 1914-17.

The restoration of the Ponte Senatorio, or Ponte Rotto, as it is often called, shows the bridge as it stood after its rebuilding by Pope Gregory XIII, in 1573.

Pl. 5. Fountain and Colonnade, Piazza di San Pietro, Rome.

William J. H. Hough, Fellow in Architecture, 1914-17.

Pl. 6. Restoration of the Circular Pavilion at Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli: plan.
Philip T. Shutze, Fellow in Architecture, 1915-18.

For that portion of Hadrian's Villa surrounded by a high circular wall and lying between the Libraries and the Poecile, the name " Circular Pavilion " has been arbitrarily chosen, following the original suggestion of Contini. The purpose which the " Circular Pavilion " served is unknown. Many other names have been applied to the ingenious and mysterious little plan, as Natatorium, Temple of the Delphic Tripod, Maritime Theater, Studio of Hadrian, Imitation of the Platanistas of Sparta etc. Until recent years a correct restoration of the plan was impossible owing to the very incomplete excavations of this part of the Villa. Piranesi, Canina and Daumet were unable to give the proper aspect to the island for this reason, and restored it as having a square vaulted central room with four bridges of access on the main axes. In the light of careful excavations and discoveries Blondel and Esquié have suggested that the treatment of the island was less monumental in character than had been formerly supposed, and that it was probably nothing more than a clever transformation of the Roman House. This house might have served as a private suite where the emperor retired for study and reflection, or even for the amateur practice of the arts of painting, sculpture and architecture. Or it might have served as a retreat where the emperor could be alone, or in the company of a chosen few.

The plan as represented in Pl. 6 comprises the island proper, a surrounding moat and portico, a large vestibule and a garden in front with its decorative fountain.

The garden has been restored in the simplest way possible, its treatment being such that the fountain serves its purpose best as a terminal motive of a long vista.

The vestibule is the main entrance to the circular enclosure.

The portico, as is evident from existing remains, was covered by a semi-circular vault, one side of which rested on the main outside wall, the other on 40 white marble columns of the Ionic Order. This portico probably supported nothing but a tile roof and acted as a screen from the neighboring buildings, and also as a pleasant promenade. The vault was decorated either with mosaics, small scale plaster reliefs on a plain ground, or was painted. The wall itself was painted except at certain irregular intervals where, as shown by a projection of the wall surface, mosaics or bas-reliefs were inserted. The floor was paved with black and white mosaics with very small tesserae arranged in a simple pattern.

On the main axis of the general scheme and opposite the vestibule is a square niche which must have held a favorite statue.

Between the portico and the island lies the moat, sixteen feet wide, and four feet deep at the point of its greatest depth which occurs nearest the Vestibule. In the pave-

ment of the moat is still visible an outlet where the level of the water could be controlled. Also in the pavement are seen the traces of four swinging bridges which made the island private or accessible according to the will of the occupant.

The island has two symmetrical entrances which lead to a central court of unusual design, open to the sky, and decorated by a central fountain and pool, and probably by small plants. A delicate Corinthian order was employed in the court and also in the various rooms of the island. Between the two entrances lies the Studio or Reception Room. On the main axis at the rear is the Dining Room with its dependencies. On the left is a chamber and on the right a bath establishment. The exterior of the island appears to have been decorated with niches containing vases and fountains.

Judging from the available ornamental fragments, such as a bit of the rich cornice which is still on the island, the two elaborate vases, one in the Terme Museum, the other in the Vatican, and certain marble mosaics in situ, one may imagine the island to have been splendidly decorated. Furnished with costly marbles, bronzes, potted plants and silk hangings, the whole must have provided for the emperor a pleasant resting place from the tedium of the court. (P. T. S.)

Pl. 7. Villa Gamberaia: planting plan.

Pl. 8. Villa Gamberaia: A, principal elevation. B, side elevation.

Edward G. Lawson, Landscape Architect, 1915-18.

The Villa Gamberaia at Settignano is one of the most interesting and well preserved villas in the neighborhood of Florence. Of its origin or early history but little is known. Its name seems to have been derived from that of the family Gamberelli on account of the connection of certain of its members with the building. An inscription over one of the doors reading " Zenobius Lapius fundavit MDCX ", seems to place the date late in the sixteenth century. Later it belonged to the Capponi family and is now owned by the Princess Ghyka.

The villa is situated upon a hillside near the village of Settignano. The broad terrace fronting the house commands a view of Settignano, Florence and the wide spreading valley of the Arno, with the foothills of the Apennines in the distance. As is typical of nearly all Tuscan suburban villas, the surrounding olive groves and vineyards extend directly up to the boundary of the property.

For the student of the Italian Villa in general, the Villa Gamberaia offers several advantageous characteristics, not only because it expresses the perfection obtained by the Renaissance Architect, but also because at the present day it practically retains its original design, both in the sub-division of parts and in the planting. The original design and beauty of a villa can be completely changed or spoiled by the substitution of exotics or other planting not intended by the original designer. This has occurred too often in the

Italian Villa, but in the Villa Gamberaia it is known from an old original print that the main planting exists today essentially the same as when it was first designed. The formal garden, originally a parterre garden, is practically the only part of the villa that has undergone any radical change in the design. For these reasons the Villa Gamberaia offers exceptional points of interest for the Landscape Architect.

In the accompanying plan of the villa, Pl. 7, there is given a complete list of the planting, and special attention is called to the small variety of different kinds of trees and shrubs employed. This conservative use of plant materials is one of the chief elements of its beauty, and is a point which the Landscape Architect of today may well bear in mind.

Pl. 8 A is a broken section running north and south, taken through the main entrance drive, across the terrace, and through the center of the garden.

Pl. 8 B is a another section running east and west, taken through the terrace and the grotto. (E. G. L.)

Pl. 9. Bas-relief.
John Gregory, Fellow in Sculpture, 1912-15.

Pl. 10. Equestrian Statue.
Leo Friedlander, Fellow in Sculpture, 1913-16.

Pl. 11. Peasant.
Carl P. Jennewein, Fellow in Sculpture, 1916-19.

Pl. 12. Fig Tree.
Harry I. Stickroth, Fellow in Painting, 1914-17.

Pl. 13. Rape of Europa.
Russell Cowles, Fellow in Painting, 1915-18.

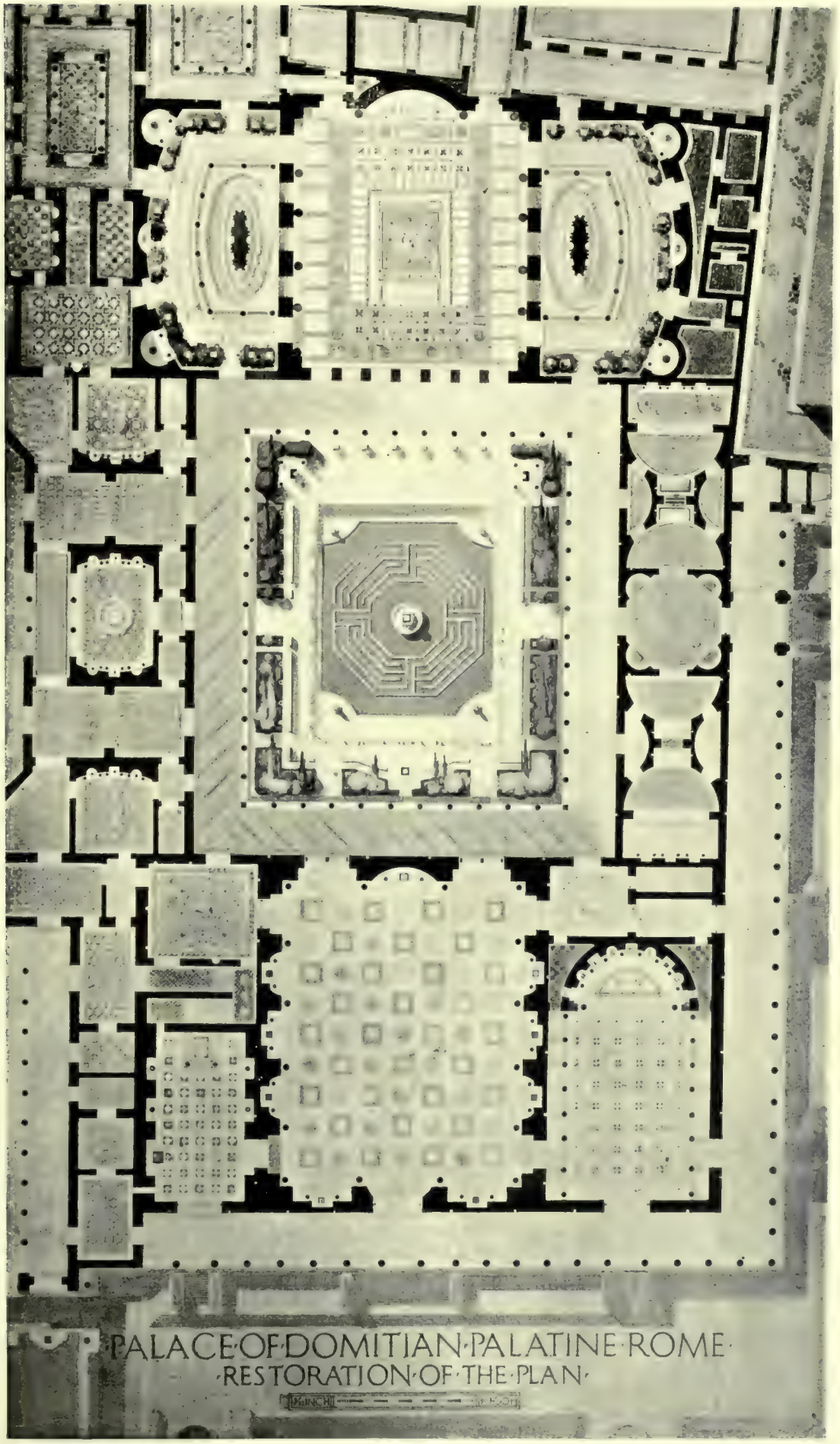
Pl. 14. Commerce.
George Davidson, Fellow in Painting, 1913-16.

Pl. 15. Sanctuary of a Catholic Church: Collaborative Problem.
Philip T. Shutze, Fellow in Architecture, 1915-18.
Berthold Nebel, Fellow in Sculpture, 1914-17.
George Davidson, Fellow in Painting, 1913-16.

RESTORATION·OF·THE·CORTILE·DI·BELVEDERE·AND·OF·THE·CORTILE DELLA·PIGNA·IN·THE·VATICAN·ROME·AS·DESIGNED·BY·BRAMANTE

By Kenneth E. Carpenter.

See p. 11.



By William J. H. Hough.

See p. 11.

By William J. H. Hough.

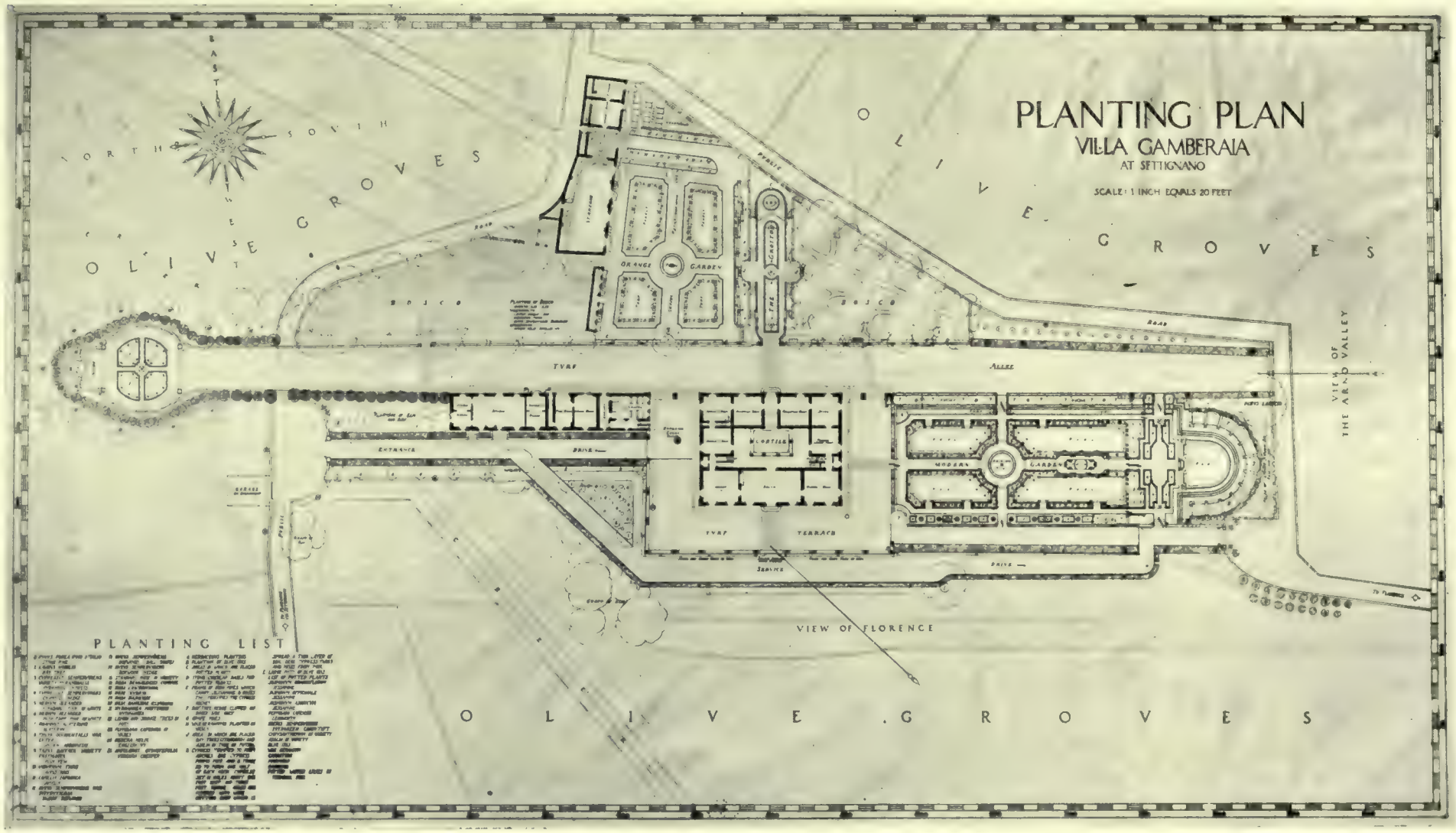
See p. 11.

By William J. H. Hough.

See p. 11.

By Philip T. Shutze.

See p. 12 f.



By Edward G. Lawson.

See p. 13 f.

A.

B.

A. Principal elevation.

B. Side elevation.

By Edward G. Lawson.

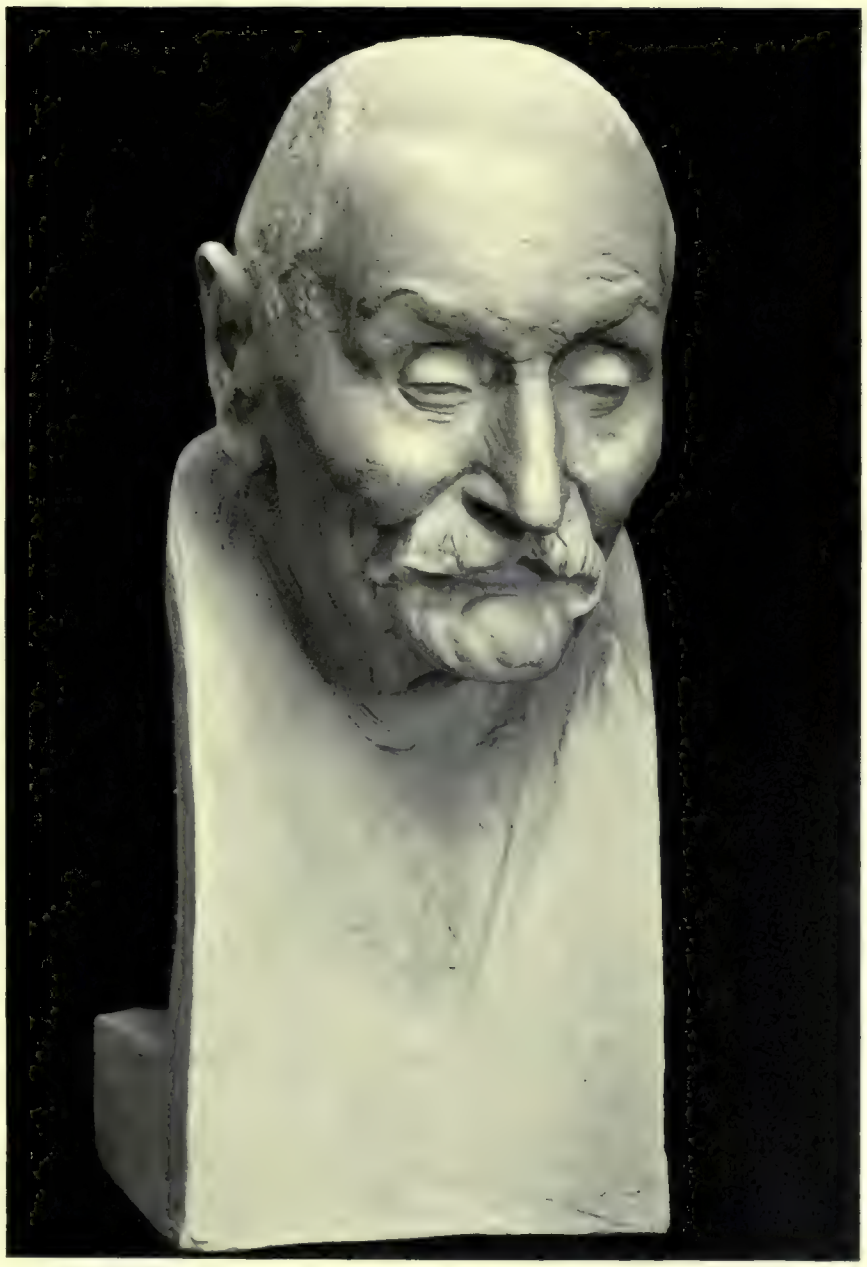
See p. 13 f.

By John Gregory.

See p. 14.

By Leo Friedlander.

See p. 14.



Peasant: by Carl P. Jennewein.

See p. 14.

Fig tree: by Harry I. Stickroth.

See p. 14.

Rape of Europa : by Russell Cowles.

See p. 14.

Commerce: by George Davidson.

See p. 14.

THE·SANCTVARY·OF·A·CATHOLIC·CHVRCH
COLLABORATIVE·PROBLEM·AMERICAN·ACADEMY·IN·ROME
GEORGE·DAVIDSON·PAINTER·BERTHOLD·NEBEL·SCVLPTOR·PHIL·SHVTZE·ARCHITECT

See p. 14.

TERRACOTTA ARULAE.

E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN.

(PLATES 16–22)

EXCAVATIONS throughout a long series of years in Sicily, Southern Italy and as far north as Rome have produced a great quantity of small objects the use and meaning of which have been much disputed.

Although not of great artistic merit in themselves, they are important for the influence they must have had on sculpture in relief generally, and as having exercised a profound influence hitherto not adequately recognised on an important class of decorated monuments, the Roman sarcophagi.

These small objects are mostly rectangular in shape, closed above and open beneath; the front long side is usually decorated with a relief and sometimes all four sides are so treated, although in the majority of cases the second long side is left rough. They are most frequently found in necropoles or sanctuaries, and also, occasionally, in dwelling houses. This seems to prove that their denomination as arulae, arette or small altars is correct, the more so as some of them have a circular depression in the top surface for their use as *arae turicremae*.

Gerhard, when describing Sicilian antiquities, was one of the first to mention these arulae [1] which he considered pedestals or supports for small objects or votive altars. Jatta, on the contrary, held that they were placed side by side and formed a frieze [2], because in the Sicilian examples there is often a hole in the two short sides through which he thought an iron bar was passed. The dimensions, however, of the arulae vary too much to allow of the supposition that they formed a continuous frieze and the fact that many are decorated on all four sides militates against it; neither is it likely that they were employed to cover the beam ends as suggested by Kekulé [3].

[1] *Ann. Inst.*, 1835, p. 41.
[2] *Cat. Mus. Ruvo*, p. 47.
[3] *Terr. v. Sic.*, p. 48.

A curious feature of these objects is that although replicas are numerous very few are precisely identical, for they vary both in measurement and in details, the first peculiarity being probably due to shrinkage in the firing, and the second to the fact that they were always coloured and occasionally worked up with a tool: it is difficult to believe that there was a fresh mould for each since they were of small value and the work is often very careless.

Their chief interest lies in the subjects represented, some types being especially favoured in certain districts, whilst others spread over a wide area. The shapes, too, vary with the region, for whereas in Sicily the arulae are rectangular, sometimes attaining considerable dimensions, further north they become nearly square and in Rome a favourite model is flat on the top and on two opposite sides and larger at the base; in section it is square and the two short sides assume the form of a double convex curve, the lower moulding larger and more spreading than the upper: a type to which I will henceforth refer as " the hourglass shape ".

The earliest arulae are merely decorated cubes, but gradually they become more architectonic in form with projecting base and cornice, plain in the earlier specimens, but later enriched by elaborate tongue pattern or egg moulding, most noticeable in the Sicilian examples. The subject, generally moulded in relief, was occasionally depicted in colour only, which explains why a few specimens have no longer any traces of decoration. In Sicily, even in the earliest examples, the subjects are fairly well adapted to the space, probably because they were simply reduced copies of well known oriental schemes. The archaic northern arulae, however, show a gauche treatment of the problem, often complicated by the use of the hourglass shape, which produces a field exceedingly hard to fill satisfactorily. At first the composition was simply apotropaic or funereal in character, but by degrees the range of subjects increased and became more purely decorative until the climax was reached in the large double arulae adorned with a female head surrounded by floral sprays. The relief, moreover, quite low in the earlier specimens, increases in depth until in the later Sicilian examples the figures sometimes stand almost free from the plane.

From the evidence of the buildings and other objects from the sites where they were found, the earliest Sicilian arulae belong to the period between the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. Dressel considered that the Esquiline arulae, even when archaic in type, illustrate only a century of development, from the third to the second century B. C.[1] Other writers, however, have shown that the contents of the graves are all from the fourth and third centuries, but certain objects found there, such as the terracotta torso[2] and the

[1] *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, pp. 253 ff.

[2] *J. R. S.*, IV (1914), p. 186, Fig. 25.

frieze with bigae and winged horses [1], both in the Museo dei Conservatori, are of the sixth century. Therefore if the majority of the arulae found on the Esquiline are contemporary with the graves, that is, of the fourth and third centuries, yet others may be earlier, relics of a past age consecrated to the service of the dead: or, of course, stamped from an old mould carefully preserved and constantly used from motives of religious conservatism. In style the earliest Roman arulae are akin to the Italic terracotta revetments, the antefixes from Satricum, the columen from Falerii Veteres [2].

A summary of the types will be necessary before we draw any conclusions from the material, although it cannot be claimed that the following list is in any way complete: further excavations constantly produce new material, and it is difficult to give an exhaustive account even of those arulae already found. The subjects are here divided into classes for the sake of convenience, but in reality the line of demarcation is often ill-defined, and the Gorgoneion, for instance, might more properly be considered religious or apotropaic rather than decorative, and the griffins be classed under " Mythological Monsters " instead of " Animal Contests ".

For information as to the arulae and for permission to publish the photographs my grateful thanks are due to M. E. Pottier, Mr. A. H. Smith, Professors Paribeni, Spinazzola, Orsi, Gabrici, Boni and Mengarelli, to Mr. J. Whitaker, Dr. Lacey Caskey, Mr. J. Marshall, Professor Lanciani, and Signor Spano.

I. ANIMAL CONTESTS.

i. " LION ATTACKS STAG ".

The lion springs from the l. upon the hindquarters of the stag, and begins to rend him. The stag seeks to flee, but falls with one knee touching the ground.

1. Caulonia, Neapolis Meridionale. 6th century. Length cm. 27; ht. 14; width 12.5.
Reverse: Lion rending bull. Cornice with egg moulding. 2 examples.
Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), col. 750, Fig. 31.

2. Caulonia. Before wall N. E. of temple. Cm. 25 × 11.5 × 12.
Reverse: Lion rending bull. 2 examples. 6th century.
Ibid., col. 763, Fig. 39.

3. Caulonia. Cornice with egg moulding. Cm. 26.5 × 12.5 × 13.
Reverse: Lion rending bull. 6th century.
N. S., 1891, p. 63, Fig. in text.

[1] *Mon. Ant.*, XV (1905), col. 212, Fig. 90.

[2] *J. R. S.*, IV (1914), Pl. XXVI, 2, and p. 173, Fig. 21.

4. Locri. The lion has brought down the stag who turns back his head in a last effort. Cm. 40 × 19. 5th century.

N. S., 1906, p. 55, Fig. in text.

5. Caulonia, Vigna Delfino. Museums of Reggio Calabria and Cotrone.

Scheme reversed: Lion springs from r. Reverse: boar attacked by dog. 2 examples. 5th century.

Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), col. 790, Fig. 61.

6. Caulonia. Museums Reggio Calabria and Cotrone.

Reverse: Lion rending bull. 2 examples. 5th century.

Ibid., col. 791.

7. S. Mauro. Mus. Palermo. Cm. 30 × 25. 5th century.

N. S., 1878, p. 324. KEKULÉ, *Terr. v. Sic.*, p. 46 M.

8. Caulonia. Mus. Reggio Calabria and Cotrone.

Reverse: Boar attacked by dog. 2 examples. 5th century.

Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), col. 792.

9. Caulonia. Cm. 25 × 13.

Front: Boar attacked by dog. 5th century.

N. S., 1891, p. 64.

10. Caulonia, Vigna Delfino. Mus. Reggio Calabria and Cotrone.

Reverse: Two lions attacking bull. c, d) Harpies. 2 examples. 5th century.

Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), col. 789.

11. Caulonia, houses in E. part of city. Here a lioness attacks the fleeing stag.

Reverse: Lioness rending bull. 1 example complete, 1 fragmentary. 5th century.

Ibid., col. 820.

12. Taranto. Coll. Marchese Lucifero, Cotrone.

Reverse: Lion rending bull. 5th century. Other examples.

N. S., 1897, p. 347.

13. Locri, Necropolis, Tomb 860. Fragmentary: figure of stag only.

N. S., 1913, Suppl. p. 38.

14. Poggioreale. " Cm. 30 × 77 " (?).

Archivio Storico Siciliano, XI (1886), pp. 95, 96.

15. Provenance unknown. Mus. Syracuse. Cm. 26 × 15. Fragmentary.

16. Syracuse. Cm. 26 × 12. Fragmentary. Lion and stag.

17. Locri. Mus. Syracuse. Cm. 18 × 12. Lion attacks stag. Fragmentary.

ii. " LION RENDING BULL ".

In this series there are slight variations of pose.

The lion springs from the l. upon the bull who, with lowered head, has been beaten to his knees.

1. Caulonia, Neapolis Meridionale. Cm. 27 × 14 × 12.5.

a) Lion attacking stag, cf. I, 1. 6th century.

Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), col. 750, Fig. 30.

2. S. Mauro. Mus. Syracuse. Cm. 25 × 15. Fragmentary. Right half broken. 5th century.

Ibid., XX (1910), col. 820, Fig. 77.

3. Motya. Mus. Palermo. 5th century.

KEKULÉ, *Terr. v. Sic.*, p. 46 E, Fig. 101.

4. Gela. Mus. Palermo. Cm. 36.5 × 19 × 12.5. Reddish clay. 5th century.

5. Selinus. Mus. Palermo. Fragment: bull only. 5th century.

Ibid., p. 46 D, Fig. 100.

6. S. Mauro. Mus. Civico, Caltagirone. Here the bull attempts to raise his head. 5th century.

Mon. Ant., XX (1910), col. 825, Fig. 80.

7. Pl. 16. Centuripe. Mus. Syracuse. Very high relief, so that the hind quarters of both animals stand free. 4th century.

Italia Artistica, " *Siracusa* ", p. 104, Fig. in text.

8. Caulonia, before wall N. E. of temple. Cm. 25 × 11.5 × 12.

Front: Lion attacking stag; cf. i, 2. 2 examples. 6th century.

Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), col. 763, Fig. 39.

9. Locri. Mus. Syracuse. Cm. 18 × 15. Fragment: hind legs of lion.

10. Gela. Mus. Palermo. Cm. 31 × 16 × 11.5. The lion springs from the r. upon the bull whose muzzle touches the ground. 6th century.

KEKULÉ, *Terr. v. Sic.*, p. 46 C, Pl. 54, 2.

11. Caulonia. Front: Lion attacking stag; cf. I, 3. 6th century.

N. S., 1891, p. 63.

12. Caulonia. Mus. Reggio Calabria and Cotrone. 2 examples.

Front: Lion attacking stag, cf. i, 6. 5th century.

Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), col. 791.

13. Rosarno Medma. Mus. Syracuse. Several fragmentary examples. 5th century.

N. S., 1902, p. 48.

14. Caulonia, houses to E. of city. One example complete, 1 fragmentary.

Lioness attacking bull. Front: Lioness attacked by stag, cf. i, 11. 5th century.

Mon. Ant., XXXIII (1916), col. 820.

15. Taranto. Coll. Marchese Lucifero, Cotrone.

Front: Lion attacking stag, cf. i, 12. 5th century. Other examples.

N. S., 1897, p. 347.

16. Locri. Mus. Syracuse. Cm. 40 × 15. Fragmentary.

17. Locri. Mus. Syracuse. Cm. 24 × 16. Fragmentary. Cream clay.

18. Locri. Mus. Syracuse. Fragment: head of bull.

iii. " LION ATTACKING HORSE ".

The lion springs from the right upon the hindquarters of the horse and brings him to the ground. The horse turns his head. Cornice with egg moulding.

1. Provenance unknown. Mus. Syracuse. Cm. 11 × 9. 5th century.
   KEKULÉ, *Terr. v. Sic.*, p. 464, Fig. 104.
2. Pl. 17. Motya. Coll. Whitaker. Cm. 19 × 11 × 18.
The lion springs from the l. upon the horse. 5th century.
3. Poggioreale, Contrada Castellazzo. " Cm. 35 × 77 " (?).
   Archivio Storico Siciliano, XI (1886), pp. 95, 96.
4. Provenance unknown. Mus. Syracuse. Very large example.

iv. " TWO LIONS ATTACKING BULL ".

The bull is beaten to his knees by two lions, one of whom mauls him in the neck, the other in the hindquarters.

1. Caulonia, Vigna Delfino. Mus. Reggio Calabria and Cotrone. 2 examples.
Reverse: Lion attacking stag, cf. i, 10. c, d) Harpies. 5th century.
   Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), col. 789, Fig. 59.
2. Locri. Cm. 26 × 13.
Reverse: Boar attacked by dog. 2 examples. 5th century.
   Cat. Lambros et Dattari (Paris 1912), No. 104.
3. Capo Boeo: found with other examples.
   Arch. Stor. Sic., V (1880), p. 329, note 2.

v. " TWO FELINES DEVOURING STAG ".

The felines devour the stag who lies on his back.

1. Provenance unknown. Mus. Palermo. Cm. 32 × 14 × 13. Broken. 5th century.
2. Provenance unknown. Coll. Campana, Louvre, anciens fonds No. 4221. Cornice with dentils.
Front: Boar attacked by dog. Traces of colour. Cm. 26 × 12. 5th century.
3. Locri. Mus. Syracuse. Cm. 23 × 23.
4. Syracuse. Cm. 40 × 28 × 25. Fragmentary.

vi. " TWO FELINES DEVOURING BOAR ".

The felines, one on either side, devour the boar who lies on his back with legs outstretched.

1. Caulonia, in a dwelling house. Mus. Cotrone. 4 examples.
Reverse: Boar attacked by dog. 5th century.
Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), cols. 733 and 791, Fig. 25.
2. Pl. 17. Motya. Coll. Whitaker. Cm. 27 × 11 × 12.
Reverse: Boar attacked by dog.

vii. " BOAR ATTACKED BY DOG ".

The boar, with lowered head, confronts the dog who springs at him from the right.
1. Caulonia, houses to E. of city. Cm. 24 × 9 × 9.
Reverse: Two animals grazing. 5th century.
Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), col. 820, Fig. 79.
2. Caulonia, Vigna Delfino. Mus. Reggio Calabria and Cotrone. Much damaged.
Reverse: Lion attacks stag, cf. i, 5. 2 examples. 5th century.
Ibid., col. 790, Fig. 60.
3. Caulonia. Mus. Reggio Calabria and Cotrone.
Front: Lion attacks stag, cf. i, 8. 2 examples. 5th century.
Ibid., col. 792.
4. Caulonia, in a dwelling house.
Front: Two felines devouring boar, cf. vi, 1. 4 examples. 5th century.
Ibid., cols. 733 and 791.
5. Locri. Cm. 26 × 13.
Front: Two lions devouring bull, cf. iv, 2. 2 examples. 5th century.
Cat. Lambros et Dattari (Paris 1912), No. 104.
6. Caulonia.
Reverse: Lion attacking stag, cf. i, 9. 5th century.
N. S., 1891, p. 64.
7. Motya. Coll. Whitaker. Cm. 27 × 11 × 12.
Front: Two felines devour boar, cf. vi, 2.
8. Provenance unknown. Coll. Campana, Louvre, anciens fonds No. 4221. Cm. 26 × 12.
Reverse: Two lionesses devour quadruped, cf. v, 2. Cornice with dentils. Traces of colour, red and white. 5th century.
9. Motya. Mus. Palermo.
Arch. Stor. Sic., IX (1884), p. 10.

viii. " FIGHT BETWEEN TWO BOARS ".

The boars, advancing from either side, are interlocked in deadly strife.

1. Provenance unknown. Mus. Syracuse. Cm. 45. Very fine work. The relief is so high that the figures are almost in the round.

KEKULÉ, *Terr. v. Sic.*, p. 46 N. AVOLIO, *Delle ant. fatture in argilla*, II, p. 100, Pl. 6, 4.

ix. " TWO GRIFFINS ATTACK HORSE ".

The horse has fallen under the onslaught of the two monsters, one of whom bite him in the neck, the other on the nose.

1. Selinus. Mus. Palermo. Cm. 19.5 × 11 × 10. 4th century.

KEKULÉ, *Terr. v. Sic.*, p. 46 F, Pl. 54, 3.

2. Cannita. Mus. Palermo. Cm. 22 × 14.5 × 14.

Ibid., p. 47 G.

3. Provenance unknown. Mus. Palermo. Cm. 23.5 × 13 × 12.5. Much rubbed.

4. Provenance unknown. Mus. Palermo. Cm. 22 × 13 × 11.5. Border and base broken.

5. Motya. Mus. Palermo. Cm. 19 × 12 × 9.5. Red clay.

Arch. Stor. Sic., IX (1884), p. 9.

6. Ruvo. Mus. Ruvo. On base Messapian inscription ΤΙΜΟΣ ΚΙ ΑΓΙΝΕ. Several examples.

JATTA, *Cat. Mus. Ruvo*, p. 101, No. 18; p. 106, No. 67; p. 109.

7. Coll. Fenicia. ΜΟΣ ΚΙΑΓΙΝΕ.

JATTA, *loc. cit.*

8. Coll. Lajodice. ΖΙΜΟΣ ΚΙ ΑΓΙΝΕΙ.

JATTA, *loc. cit.*

9. Provenance unknown. Motya, Coll. Whitaker. 3 examples. 1) cm. 24 × 14 × 12. 2, 3) cm. 22 × 12 × 12.

10. Provenance unknown. Mus. Palermo. Red clay.

The griffin on the l. bites the horse's mane; the one to r. bites him in the middle of the back.

x. " GRIFFIN ATTACKS STAG ".

1. Apulia. Mus. Ruvo. Border all round of maeander and wave pattern. 4th century.

JATTA, *Cat. Mus. Ruvo*, Suppl., p. 970, No. 1649, IV.

2. Coll. Campana, Louvre, anciens fonds No. 4743. Cm. 14.5 × 11.5. Border on three sides with wave pattern. 4th century.

3. Provenance unknown. Mus. Conservatori. Right half only with figure of griffin. Egg moulding above and below. 3rd century.

xi. " GRIFFIN ALONE ".

The griffin faces to l., in an attitude of defence with gaping mouth and forelegs level with the ground. Head surpasses the border.

1. S. Mauro. Fattoria of the Baronessa Ventimiglia-Cocuzzo. Cm. 39 × 22. 6th century.

Mon. Ant., XX (1910), col. 820, Fig. 78.

xii. " TWO ANIMALS GRAZING ".

1. Caulonia, houses to E. of the city.

Front: Boar attacked by dog, cf. vii, 1. 5th century.

Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), col. 820.

xiii. " BULL CHARGES SERPENT ".

The powerful bull charges toward the righthand lower corner where a great serpent rears his head from a hole in the rocky ground.

1. Pl. 17. Rome, Mus. Conservatori. Hourglass shape. Cm. 17 × 19.

Fine work, details carefully rendered by tool. 3rd century.

Bull. Inst., 1850, p. 110.

xiv. " BULL ALONE ".

The bull faces r. with forelegs firmly planted, as if in a posture of defence.

1. Locri Epizephyrii, Tomb 800. Cm. 7 × 4.7 × 4.9. 4th century.

N. S., 1913, Suppl., p. 33 and note 1, Fig. 39.

xv. " LION ".

A ramping lion prowls to r. with gaping jaws.

1. Locri. Mus. Syracuse. Cm. 10 × 5.5 × 6. Cream clay. 5th century.

xvi. " HORSE ".

Horse faces r. with left foreleg raised.

1. Pl. 17. Provenance unknown. Mus. Naples, No. 20685. Cm. 14 × 12 × 6.

2. Rosarno Medma. Horse (headless) grazing. 5th century,
N. S., 1917, p. 53.

3. Three horses gallop towards the left; the middle one turns back his head. They are heavily built, with hobbed manes and spirited action, but there is no trace of harness.

Civita Lavinia. In private possession. Hourglass shape. Cm. 11 × 9.5. Right and back sides broken. On top is a circular depression. Traces of cream and red slips. 3rd century.

xvii. " SINGLE ANIMALS ON ALL FOUR SIDES ".

In this class the animals have no connection with each other, and are introduced merely as a scheme of decoration. 5th century.

1. Caulonia, Vigna Delfino. Cm. 9 × 9.5 × 6.5. 3 examples.
   a) Lion advancing with open jaws.
   b) Boar running.
   c) Dog coursing.
   d) Stag grazing.
   Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), col. 789, Fig. 58.
2. Caulonia, houses to E. of the city. Cm. 9 × 9.5 × 5.7.
   a) Boar.
   b) Dog.
   c) Stag.
   d) Lioness.
   Ibid., col. 820.
3. Caulonia. Cm. 8 × 6.5.
   a) Boar.
   b) Dog.
   c) Lion.
   d) Goat (?).
   N. S., 1891, p. 64,

II. MYTHOLOGICAL MONSTERS.

i. " SPHINX ".

1. Metaurum. Fragmentary. Upper half of Sphinx facing to left with large recurved wings. Framing the field are two Ionic columns. 6th century.
   N. S., 1902, p. 129, Fig. 3, No. 7.
2. Selinus. Mus. Palermo. Cm. 18.5 × 15 × 12. Grey clay. Projecting border

all round. The Sphinx sits facing right with body in profile but head turned to front. She wears a perruque, and the great wings sweep across to the left upper corner. 5th century.

KEKULÉ, *Terr. v. Sic.*, p. 46 I and K, Fig. 103.

3. Motya. Mus. Palermo. Much damaged. Cm. 19 × 16 × 12. Reddish grey clay.

Arch. Stor. Sic., IX (1884), p. 9.

4. Motya. Mus. Palermo. Fragmentary. The Sphinx is seated towards the left, but the head is turned toward the front. The wings are small, the face oval with hair parted and waved back. The work is late and akin to the Attic stelai. 5th century.

KEKULÉ, *Terr. v. Sic.*, p. 46 H, Fig. 102.

5. Caulonia, wall N. E. of temple. Cm. 32 × 28 × 14. 6th century.

Two Sphinxes face heraldically towards the centre where they unite in a single head. Bodies very thin, wings recurved. The type seems unique, since the figures are worked *à jour*. The sides resemble pilasters, but the outer edge curves inwards.

Mon. Ant., XXIII, col. 764, Fig. 40.

6. Pl. 17. Rome. Mus. Nazionale. Cm. 24.5 × 18 × 9.5. Hourglass shape. 5th century.

Two Sphinxes, bodies in profile but heads frontal, are seated heraldically, both raising one paw. Of the pair of recurved wings which spring from their chests, one follows the upper curve of the arula, the other touches that of her companion in the centre of the field. The clay is yellowish, with a cream slip.

7. Pl. 17. Provenance unknown. Mus. Naples, No. 20649. Cm. 10 × 10.

Winged Sphinx with torso and forelegs frontal and two bodies in profile to either side.

b) Two winged figures who stand frontally, each resting one hand on his companion's shoulder and clasping his other hand.

c) Griffin to left, advancing rapidly.

d) Feline advancing to right.

8. Locri Epizephyrii. Cm. 26 × 26.

Sphinx (headless) seated facing to right. To left, fluted column. Much damaged.

N. S., 1917, p. 150, Fig. 54.

ii. " SYRENS ".

1. Pl. 18. Rome, opposite the Church of S. Vito. Mus. Conservatori. Hourglass shape. Cm. 25 × 13.

A Syren, head damaged, stands fully frontal, clad in a short thin chiton through which the purely human bodily forms are visible. Her hair hangs to her shoulders from which spring a pair of recurved wings; her long arms are outstretched, and in each hand

she holds a κύμβαλον. The flesh tints are cream, the bird legs red; the ground colour is red, and cream spirals in relief fill up the space to either side in the lower half of the arula. The short sides are painted with a tongue pattern in red and black on a cream ground. 6th century.

Bull. Com., III (1875), pp. 50, 54, 255, No. 13. *Mon. Inst.*, XI, Pl. X a, 2, 2a. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, pp. 256 No. 3, 286, 296.

2. Rome, Esquiline. Mus. Berlin. Cm. 13 × 12.

A Syren with wings deployed stands frontally, holding a flaming torch in either hand between two Ionic columns. She wears a short garment to the junction of the human and bird forms. 4th century.

Ann. Inst., 1879, p. 277 No. 18, Pl. R, 2. *Coll. A. Castellani* (Paris 1884), p. 74 No. 550. WEICHER, *Der Seelenvogel*, p. 189.

3. Ditto. Mus. Conservatori. Cm. 13 × 11.

4. Pl. 18. Ditto, Palatine (?). Museo Nazionale. Clay red. Much rubbed.

5. Ditto, Palatine, under the Basilica of Domitian. Cm. 13 × 14.5.

6. Caulonia, Vigna Delfino. Fragmentary. Cm. 26 × 18. Only upper half of Syren who stands between the two Ionic columns. Above is an elaborate entablature which produces the impression of a shrine. 4th century.

Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), col. 792, Fig. 63.

iii. " HARPIES ".

1. Caulonia, Vigna Delfino. Mus. of Reggio Calabria and Cotrone.

c, d) Harpies.

a) Two lions attacking bull, cf. I, iv, 1.

b) Lion attacking stag, cf. I, i, 10.

Two examples. 5th century.

Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), col. 789.

iv. " FISH-BODIED DAEMON ".

1. Caulonia, near the temple. Fragmentary. Fish-bodied monster, perhaps the ἅλιος γέρων.

Reverse: *b*) Satyr with amphora. 6th century.

Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), col. 900, Fig. 138.

2. Provenance unknown. Munich. Fish-bodied daemon and palmette motive. 6th century (?).

CHRIST, *Führer durch das k. Antiquarium in München* (1901), p. 49, No. 111.

v. " SATYR ".

1. Caulonia, near the Temple. The Satyr creeps forward to sieze the great amphora which stands on the right. He has long hair, a thick beard and a very long tail which is raised well above his back. His whole attitude is expressive of sly greed.

Reverse: *b*) ἅλιος γέρων. cf. iv, 1. 6th century.

Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), col. 900, Fig. 138.

2. Caulonia, near the Collina del Faro. Mus. Reggio Calabria and Cotrone. Satyr with amphora as above.

Reverse: Satyr with open arms. Fragmentary. 2 examples. 6th century.

Ibid., col. 790, Fig. 62.

3. Pl. 18. Lanuvium. British Museum. Ht. cm. 10.4. Shape, hour-glass.

A Satyr to left in the archaic running manner with knees bent. He is bearded and has the tail and hoofs of a horse. He looks upward and grasps the amphora before him by one handle. 2 examples. 5th century.

B. M. Cat. Terr., p. 174, B 616, Fig. 42 and B 617.

4. Provenance unknown. Rome, Museo Nazionale, formerly in the Museo Kircheriano. Cm. 9 × 7.5. Broad frame all round. Satyr to left holding a rhyton and flute (?) leans against a curving band which ends in spirals with a palmette springing from the angle. Coarse clay with cream slip. 5th century.

5. Rome, Esquiline. Coll. Dressel. Head of Satyr which fills the whole space; pointed ears, squat nose, hair and beard plastically rendered, long straight moustache, " mouche "; on either side three locks increasing symmetrically as they descend. The head is crowned with six flowers or rosettes and is identical in type with the antefix of the Satyr's head from Vignale, Falerii. This arula is unique in having no cornice or border. 6th century.

Mon. Inst., XI, Pl. X, 2. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 255, No. 2.

6. Pl. 19. Provenance unknown. Louvre, " anciens fonds " No. 3993. Cm. 15×14. Shape hour-glass. Large head of bearded Satyr between two spirals. Over each temple is an ivy leaf, part of a wreath or fillet. 4th century.

vi. " CENTAUR ".

1. Pl. 18. Motya. Coll. Whitaker. Cm. 27 × 14 × 18. Shape rectangular. A bearded Centaur reclines on his left arm, his right extended. The equine body is in profile, the human trunk full face. 5th century.

vii. " MARINE MONSTERS ".

1. Pl. 18. Provenance unknown. Formerly Coll. Durand. Louvre, Inv. No. 4883 E D 1982. Rectangular. Cm. 16 × 11.5. A marine horse; to left, a dolphin; below, a fish (and a polypus?). 4th century.

2. Pl. 19. Calvi. Mus. Naples, No. 21064. Cm. 14.5 × 12 × 07.5. Surrounded by a plain double border surmounted at the top by dentils.

viii. " GORGON ".

1. Syracuse. Large arula showing Gorgon running to left. In each hand she holds a head of the two serpents which form her girdle. Plain border, red clay. 5th century.

III. " DIVINITIES ".

1. Rome, Esquiline. Rectangular. Cm. 9. On three sides are the three Capitoline deities. Each one is seated on a square-backed throne in an aedicula surmounted by a pediment. In front is Jupiter with sceptre and patera; in the pediment, an eagle. To right: Juno veiled with sceptre and patera; peacock in pediment. The left: Minerva with lance, and right hand raised towards her head; owl in pediment. 3rd century.

Bull. Com., 1881, p. 252, No. 8.

2. Rome, S. Antonio. Coll. Castellani. Shape, square. Toilette of Aphrodite. To the left, Aphrodite, draped with a mantle which covers her back only, is occupied in either drying or arranging her hair. To right a nude winged youth frontally holding out the mirror for the goddess to see herself; in his lowered left he holds a ribbon. Between them is a seat or table with legs ending in feline paws. On either side an Ionic column frames the scene. Traces of colour on the short sides. 3rd century.

Mon. Inst., XI, Pl. X a, 3. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 276, No. 17.

3. Pl. 19. Rome. Museo Nazionale. Rectangular. Cm. 31 × 25. Dionysiac Scene. In the centre an ass advances to right, ridden by a nude winged youth with a mantle over his left arm which hangs down under his right leg and thus forms a saddle-cloth. He turns to the front and stretches out a torch in his right hand. His hair is long and thick. He is followed by a Seilenos, nude but with a long mantle floating behind his head and hanging over his left arm to the ground. A thyrsos leans against the crook of his arm, and he endeavours to push on the ass which is led by a nude

youth who turns his head backwards. With his right hand he holds the bit, with his left, a thyrsos. His hair is gathered up behind into a knot: a mantle resting on his left shoulder hangs down behind him. Details rubbed, but work good and relief high. Projecting entablature consisting of three members; elaborate base with reversed honeysuckle pattern. 3rd century.

4. Croton. Coll. Marchese Lucifero. Shape square. Decorated on the four sides. Reverse: *b*) Athena Promachos; *a*) Herakles; *c*, *d*) Centaur. 6th century.

N. S., 1897, p. 350, Fig. 7.

IV. MYTHOLOGICAL BEINGS.

i. " EUROPA ON THE BULL ".

Dressel distinguishes four types, the three latter being simply variants. Shape hourglass.

Type A. A nude winged female figure hangs to the side of a bull hastening right. She puts her left arm round the bull's neck, her outstretched right touches his upcurved tail. A mantle floats along the line of her arm and fills the space between it and the bull's back. The ground is generally black, the bull flesh-coloured, the mantle red, but in one example the bull is rose-coloured with yellow hoofs, the whole female figure yellow, wings included. In some instances the waves are conventionally indicated by recurving spirals. 4th century.

1. Cales. Mus. Naples.

Bull. Arch. Nap., N. S., VII (1859), p. 187, Pl. XIV.

2. Rome, Esquiline. Coll. Dressel. 6 examples.

Ann. Inst., 1879, p. 264.

3. Provenance unknown. Louvre, Inv. No. 4783. Cm. 17 × 15. Bought at the sale of Baron Gros in 1835.

4. Rome, Palatine, under the Basilica of Domitian. 2 examples; one is cm. 13.5 ×13; the second, cm. 14 × 11.

5. Pls. 19, 20. Rome. Museo Nazionale. 2 examples and fragments of 2 others.

6. Rome. Antiquarium. 19 examples, some broken.

7. Rome, Esquiline. Mus. Conservatori. Cm. 13 × 10.

Bull. Com., III (1875), p. 255, No. 10.

8. Falerii Veteres. Villa Giulia. 1 example.

Variations of Type A. The lower part of the upper cornice is dentilated.

1. Rome, Esquiline. Coll. Dressel. 2 examples.

Mon. Inst., XI, Pl. X a, 7. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 265.

2. Rome. In commerce. 1 example.

Mon. Inst., XI, Pl. X a, 7. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 265.

3. Rome. Coll. Luigi Costa. Colour well preserved. Ground black; bull, cream; Europa's wings yellow with details in red; tuft of bull's tail, Europa's hair, necklace and outlines of figure, red. Also traces of red on her flesh, evidently shoes. The short sides are painted with an architectonic ornament in red and black.

Ibid.

4. " Taranto ", but said to have been bought in Rome. Bonn, Akad. Museum. Cm. 17 × 18.

A. Reinach, *Neapolis*, II (1915), p. 249, Fig. 35.

Type B. Europa does not touch the bull's tail which curves over on to his back. The mantle hangs over her arm instead of floating out. Waves conventionally rendered. 4th century.

1. Rome. Mus. Conservatori. 2 examples.

Mon. Inst., XI, Pl. X a, 4. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 265.

2. Rome. In commerce.

Ibid.

3. Rome. Antiquarium. 3 examples.

4. Pl. 20. Rome. Museo Nazionale. Only the central portion remains.

Type C. Corresponds to *B*, but is on a larger scale. Cm. 23 × 21.

1. Rome. Antiquarium. Fragmentary, part of bull with the female figure and three waves.

Type D. The bull is more vigorous, the position of its forelegs and head being almost frontal. No waves.

1. Rome. Coll. Dressel. 1 example.

Mon. Inst., XI, Pl. X a, 5. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 266.

2. Rome. Coll. Castellani. Rather larger, with traces of colour.

Ibid.

Type E. The bull resembles Type *A*. Europa's knees more bent, so that her l. foot almost touches the cornice. She holds a rod (?) in her extended right.

1. Caere, Temple of Hera. 3 examples. Cm. 24 × 26; cm. 29 × 16.5; cm. 13. All fragmentary.

Mentioned in reports of excavations in Rome:

1. Esquiline, cm. 14. 4 examples.

Bull. Com., I (1872-3), p. 307, No. 19.

2. Quirinal, cm. 14. 4 examples.

Ibid., V (1877), p. 279, No. 29.

3. Esquiline, cm. 13 × 10.

Ibid., VII (1879), p. 255, No. 7.

4. Near S. Vito, cm. 12 × 12. 3 examples.
N. S., 1889, p. 67.
5. Near S. Vito, cm. 15 × 12.
Bull. Com., XVIII (1890), p. 352, No. 18. *N. S.*, 1890, p. 239.
6. Via Magnanapoli. 2 examples.
Mon. Ant., XV, col. 262 (Pinza).

ii. " LYREPLAYER ON RAM ".

1. Pl. 20. Provenance unknown. Coll. Campana, Louvre, " ancien fonds 242 ". Shape hourglass. Cm. 15 × 12. A nude figure holding a lyre in the l. hand, reclines on the back of a ram bounding over the waves of the sea. 4th century.

iii. " LYREPLAYER ON BULL ".

1. Pl. 20. Provenance unknown. Coll. Campana, Louvre, " anc. fonds 4961 ". Shape hourglass. Cm. 12 × 13. Nude figure reclining on the back of a bounding bull (in the left hand he holds a lyre?). Badly stamped and much rubbed. 4th century.

iv. " NEREID ON DOLPHIN ".

Type A. The various examples differ greatly in measurements. Shape square. The Nereid floats by the side of, but does not sit on, the dolphin who swims to right. She is nude, but a mantle hangs over her l. arm, and, passing behind her, hangs down below her knees. In her r. hand she holds a torch, in her l. a helmet. The ground is usually black; the dolphin and waves blue; drapery, crest of helmet and flame of torch red; helmet and torch yellow. The Nereid sometimes bears a helmet with stiff crest, sometimes a Corinthian helmet with sweeping horse hair plume. 4th century.

1. Rome. Coll. Dressel. 3 examples.
Mon. Inst., XI, Pl. X a, 9. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 269, No. 11.
2. Rome. Sig. Luigi Costa. 1 example.
Ibid.
3. Rome. Sig. Leone Nardoni. 1 example.
Ibid.
4. Rome. In commerce. Several examples.
Ibid.
5. Rome. Mus. Conservatori. Cm 13 × 14. 2 other examples.
Bull. Com., III (1875), pp. 50, 55, Pls. VI-VIII, 3. *Mon. Inst.*, XI, Pl. X a, 8.
6. Pl. 21. Rome. Mus. Nazionale. 4 examples.

7. Rome. Antiquarium. 9 examples.

8. Rome, Forum, in a *pozzo* between the Regia and Temple of Vesta. Cm. 14×15. 1 example.

N. S., 1899, p. 128.

9. Capua. Mus. Berlin.

E. GERHARD, *Leitfaden zur Terrac.*, p. 47, No. 133. T. PANOFKA, *Mus. Bartoldiano*, p. 152, No. 57.

10. Nemi.

Röm. Mitth., 1886, p. 175.

11. Genzano, near " I Bacelli ". 2 examples.

Ann. Inst., 1879, p. 270, note.

12. " Sicily " (?). Coll. Dufourney, No. 140; Louvre.

RAOUL ROCHETTE, *Mon. Ined.*, pp. 42 f., and 106, Pl. VI, 2.

13. Provenance unknown. Copenhagen, National Museum.

14. Civita Lavinia, near Temple of Herakles. Museum.

15. Civita Lavinia. In private possession.

Mentioned in reports of excavations in Rome:

1. Esquiline.

Bull. Com., II (1874), p. 260, No. 21.

2. Between S.ta Caterina da Siena and SS. Domenico e Sisto. Several examples.

N. S., 1877, p. 81. *Mon. Ant.*, XV, col. 260.

3. Esquiline. Cm. 12 × 10.

Bull. Com., VII (1879), p. 255, No. 8.

4. Via Merulana.

N. S., 1879, p. 265.

5. Near S. Vito.

Bull. Com., 1890, p. 227.

Type B. The dolphin swims to right with the Nereid seated on his back. She is nude save for the mantle which hangs from her shoulders and covers her r. leg. She rests her l. hand on the dolphin's dorsal fin and touches his tail daintily with her r. hand. Waves not indicated. The scene is framed in pilasters and the work is very careful. 4th century.

1. Rome, near the Via Merulana. Mus. Conservatori. Cm. 26.5 × 23.5.

Mon. Inst., XI, Pl. X a, 6. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 271, No. 12.

Type C. Nereid on dolphin. A fish in each corner. 4th century.

1. Capua. Mus. Berlin, No. 7203. Cm. 16 × 20.5.

Ann. Inst., 1879, p. 288, note 4.

Type D. Nereid crowned with *stephane* seated on a hippocampus swimming to left. Below are waves and four dolphins' heads. 4th century.

1. Capua. Mus. Berlin, No. 7313. Cm. 8.7 × 16.5.

Ibid.

v. " MAENAD ON PANTHER ".

1. Rome, Esquiline. Mus. Conservatori. Cm. 28 × 22.

The Maenad reclines upon the back of a panther advancing to left. She is nude but wears boots and a garland of leaves round her head, and is seated on a mantle the end of which falls over her l. leg. She puts her r. arm round the beast's neck and carries a thyrsos in her l. hand. Faint traces of colour, panther brown, mantle red. The subject is repeated on a terracotta frieze slab (CAMPANA, *Antiche Opere in Plastica*, Pl. 108, 2), but there the boots are omitted. 4th century.

Ann. Inst., 1879, p. 278, No. 19, Pl. P. ROSCHER, *Lexikon*, II, 2, p. 2282 (Rapp).

vi. " WINGED YOUTH ON PANTHER ".

1. Rome, Esquiline. Mus. Conservatori. Shape square. Cm. 10 × 10. On the back of a panther bounding to right is a nude winged youth who raises his r. hand above his head. 3rd century.

Bull. Com., VI (1878), p. 296, No. 18. *Mon. Inst.*, XI, Pl. X a, 1. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 286, No. 9.

2. Lanuvium. British Museum. Shape hourglass. Cm. 9. " Eros on panther moving rapidly to left, his r. hand placed on its neck and his l. hand extended; a chlamys floats behind him ". 3rd century.

B. M. Cat. Terr., p. 428, D. 772.

vii. " WINGED GENIUS ON HORSEBACK ".

1. Cales. Mus. Campano.

Ann. Inst., 1880, p. 324.

viii. " BIGA WITH WINGED DRIVER ".

1. Rome, Esquiline. Formerly in the German Institute.

Double arula. A biga to r. driven by a winged figure; the horses also have wings both on their backs and feet. Between the horses' feet runs a small quadruped (hare?). 6th century.

Ann. Inst., 1879, p. 287, note 2.

ix. " HERAKLES ATTACKING THE HYDRA ".

1. Croton, Temple of Hera Lacinia. Coll. Marchese Lucifero. Cm. 24 × 11.3 × 11.

The Hydra writhes in the centre in two great coils, darting out its numerous heads in

every direction. Herakles approaches from the right, holding a long sword in one hand and a cloak or lion's skin wrapped round the other to serve as a shield. Near his r. foot is a great crab preparing to attack him. On the l. Iolaos advances warily and siezes the lowest of the serpents, while in his r. hand he brandishes the blade which recurs in the " Peloponnesian " representations of the scene. Both heroes are unbearded and apparently nude, but garments may have been indicated in colour. This relief belongs to Group II of the subject in Purgold's category (Ἀφχ. Ἐφ., 1885, pp. 233 ff.) where Iolaos, instead of standing near with the chariot, comes to Herakles' assistance.

The reverse shows two Satyrs dancing one on either side of a Nymph who kneels on one knee and plays the double flute. She wears a pointed *saccos* and a garment so transparent that all the bodily forms are plainly visible. The dance was probably ritual, akin to the *Kordax* so frequently figured on early Corinthian vases. A like theme is depicted on the poros pediment from the Acropolis (*Ath. Mitth.*, XI (1886), p. 78 f., Pl. II).

N. S., 1897, pp. 346 ff., Figs. 4, 5.

x. " HERAKLES OVERCOMES ACHELOOS ".

1. Locri. Mus. Syracuse. Cm. 63 × 29 × 29. L. half broken. Round lateral holes.

Herakles wrestles with the monster whom he has forced to his knees. He is bearded and has short, tight curls. A column on the r. borders the field. The work is very fine. 5th century.

N. S., 1917, p. 119, Fig. 24.

xi. " HERAKLES AND OTHER FIGURES ".

A single figure on each of the four sides.

a) Herakles, beardless, advances to l. with a club in his raised r. hand, a bow in his l. hand.

b) Elderly Centaur with long beard prancing to left.

c) Part of Centaur as *b*) but position of arms varied.

d) Athena Promachos turned to left in usual attitude (described as hoplite, but cf. No. 3 where the whole figure is preserved). 6th century.

1. Caulonia, Vigna Delfino. Mus. Cotrone. Several fragments.
   Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), col. 792.
2. Caulonia, Necropolis. Mus. Cotrone. Cm. 10 × 12.
   Ibid., col. 909, Fig. 150.
3. Croton. Coll. Marchese Lucifero.
   N. S., 1897, p. 350, Figs. 6-9.

xi. « Λοκρίδες παρθένοι ».

1. Rosarno Medma, Necropolis, Contrada Nóleo. Preserved cm. 45 × 42.

On the extreme right stands a bearded man clad in a long robe girt with a broad belt and a band crossed over his chest. Over his head is a mantle which he raises with his l. hand. Next him is a nude youth leaning on his two spears with a chlamys over his l. shoulder and in his r. hand an unsheathed sword. Beyond him there is a long, low altar or base on which is seated a maiden with bent head, short hair and bare feet. With her l. hand she lightly clasps the arm of the standing youth. Beside her sits a second youth with petasos hanging behind his neck, chlamys and boots. He holds a scabbard in his l. hand. Here there is a lacuna, but on the ground is the prostrate body of a woman partially covered by a mantle. Above her is either a base or the rear of the altar, and behind another male figure (rather than a herm). The scene is closed by pilasters to r. and l., and on the one to l. hang mystic objects: a pipe, cymbal etc. The art is that of the 5th century B. C.

In the middle of the nineteenth century a large matrix was found which is now in the collection of Dr. Raffaele Colloca at Mileto; it showed three and part of the fourth figures to right. But in 1914 in the Necropolis in the Contrada Nóleo, Rosarno Medma, fragments of a large arula were discovered which can be completed from the matrix. Professors Orsi and Rizzo interpreted the scene as the Λοκρίδες παρθένοι, a subject appropriate to the region where it was found. Professor L. Savignoni, however, by comparing the arula with a vase from Naples and a gem from the Collection Fould, has attempted to prove that it represents the purification of the daughters of Proetus by Melampus. He demonstrates the objections to the first theory, but his own suggestion is not entirely convincing, for there are none of the usual implements of purification, hyssop, a pig, etc. " Melampus " is not brought into relation with the maidens, and the two youths seem a disturbing element. He thinks that a third sister was seated on the l. end of the altar, but even had there been room, traces of the feet at least would have been visible. 5th century.

N. S., 1913, Suppl., pp. 59-62, Figs. 67, 68. *Ausonia*, VIII (1913), pp. 167 ff.

2. Rosarno Medma. Sepolcro 19. Fragments.

N. S., 1917, p. 39.

xii. " WINGED YOUTH ".

1. Rome, Esquiline. Coll. Dressel. Shape hourglass. A nude youth in the archaic running scheme to right. He turns his head backwards and sounds a flute or horn which he holds in his right hand. In his left an object now undecipherable. His four great

recurved wings follow the curving edges of the upper and lower half of the arula. Much damaged. 5th century.

Mon. Inst., XI, Pl. X, 1. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 254, No. 1.

2. Provenance unknown. Private possession. Traces of red colour. Cm. 11 × 10.

xiii. " HYPNOS AND THANATOS ".

1. Rome, Esquiline. Berlin Antiquarium, Terrakotten No. 8073. Shape hourglass. Cm. 23 × 10.3. Two nude youths are intent upon raising the naked body of another youth whose limbs trail on the ground with all the helplessness of death. One bearer raises him by the shoulders, the other by the knees. These bearers are almost symmetrically placed, and one recurved wing of each follows the upper curve of the arula, whilst the other touches that of his companion in the middle of the field; on their ankles are small wings. The ground was originally blue, the figures red. 5th century.

Mon. Inst., XI, Pl. X, 3. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 255, No. 4. *Cat. A. Castellani* (Paris 1884), *Terrecuites*, p. 74, No. 551. *Führer durch die k. Museen*, Berlin (1902), p. 192.

xiv. " FIGHT BETWEEN WARRIOR AND CENTAUR ".

1. Rome, Esquiline. Coll. Dressel. Shape hourglass.

The warrior, fully frontal, has sunk on one knee and plunges his sword into the body of his adversary who advances at a leisurely pace with a great mass of rock ready to crush the foe. The warrior has a helmet with lofty plume, a cuirass with large shoulder pieces, a leather-piece or apron round his waist, and underneath, a short full chiton. The Centaur's head encroaches upon the border of the field, and his hair blows straight out behind him to indicate motion. But this is the only sign of violent action in the whole scene, for both participants appear perfectly indifferent, so much so that the warrior uses his weapon without even turning his head to see what he is doing. 5th century.

Mon. Inst., XI, Pl. X, 5. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 259, No. 5.

xv. " FIGHT BETWEEN WARRIOR AND AMAZON ".

The Amazon advances impetuously from the right against the warrior who has fallen on his r. knee but raises his l. hand to ward off the expected blow. 4th century.

1. Bacucco (in Picenum). Shape square. Much rubbed.
   N. S., 1896, p. 520, Fig. 7.
2. Hadria (in Picenum). Shape square.
   Ibid., p. 521, Fig. 8.

V. HUMAN PROTAGONISTS.

i. " MONOMACHIA ".

1. Ardea. Shape hourglass.

The warrior on the left siezes the helmet of his fallen foe who tries to prevent him by grasping his arm with his last remaining strength. He wears a helmet with crest, a short chiton, θώραξ φολιδωτός and greaves. His opponent has a helmet with apex, a θώραξ στάδιος with leather tabs below it and a short chiton. 4th century.

D'Agincourt, *Rec. frag.*, Pl. 33. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 285. Blümner, *Technologie*, II, p. 135, Fig. 29.

ii. " CHARIOTEERS AND RIDERS ".

1. Palermo. Rectangular. Cm. 30 × 15.5 × 15.

Quadriga frontal. The two inner horses turn their heads towards each other, the two outer towards the men who stand holding them. Both of these men raise one hand to quiet the horse; they wear nothing but a small mantle, whereas the charioteer has a long garment. 6th century.

Kekulé, *Terr. v. Sic.*, p. 46 A, Pl. 54, 1.

2. Agrigentum.

As above but without the two figures holding the horses' heads.

Ibid., p. 46 B. *Bull. Arch. Nap.*, N. S., II (1854), p. 105, Pl. II, 3.

3. Gela. Rectangular. Cm. 30.5 × 12.5 × 12.2. Bright red clay. Small cornice above and below. Blurred impression.

Two quadrigae racing. The racing chariot is very light and simple with two four-spoked wheels (only one shown) and a small body. The charioteer, wearing a long garment and with a cap on his head, bends forward. The legs of the horses are as thin as skeletons. Their structure resembles the animals of Dipylon ware or early Sicilian coins. 6th century.

Mon. Ant., XIX (1908), col. 134.

4. Locri Epizephyrii. Mus. Syracuse. Cm. 61 × 25.

N. S., 1917, p. 115, Fig. 17.

5. Locri. Cm. 61 × 30.

A quadriga racing to left. The charioteer, clad in a long garment, leans forward to urge on his horses. To either side is an Ionic column. 6th century.

Cat. Lambros et Dattari (Paris 1912), No. 102, Pl. XIII.

6. Locri. Cm. 38 × 21.

A quadriga racing to right. 6th century.

Ibid., No. 103, Pl. XIII.

7. Locri, Tomb 275. Mus. Syracuse. Cm. 6.4 × 2.4. 2 examples.

A biga racing to r. between two Ionic columns. The horses are white on a blue ground. 5th century.

N. S., 1912, Suppl., p. 5, Fig. 2.

8. Locri.

Quadriga between two columns.

N. S., 1913, Suppl., p. 50.

9. Gela. Mus. Palermo. Cm. 32.5 × 16 × 14.

Three horsemen galloping to right. The horses have small bodies with long legs; the reins are plastically indicated. Traces of red colour on the horses' manes. The horsemen appear to be nude and ride barebacked. Their hair is long. Cornice, but no base; broken on r. side. Yellow clay. 6th century.

10. S. Mauro. Coll. Zangára Ingressia, Catania. Cm. 33 × 19.5.

Two horsemen (Dioscuri?) back to back with shoulders touching, proceed in opposite directions. This subject is simply the design of one half reversed upon the other half. High relief. 4th century.

Mon. Ant., XX (1910), col. 820, Fig. 79.

iii. " TWO MEN SEATED ".

1. Pl. 21. Lanuvium. British Museum. Shape hourglass. Cm. 14.

Two men seated on rocks back to back with legs crossed. Each supports with one hand the elbow of the other arm with which he draws forward a piece of drapery which appears to be twisted round his head. They are bearded and wear helmets (?), cuirasses with a row of flaps below the waist, and short chitons covering their knees. These two figures are merely duplicates of a single theme: the subject may possibly represent Agamemnon *capite obvoluto* or some other mythological subject. 3rd century.

British Museum Cat. Terr., D, 771, p. 427, Fig. 80.

iv. " SEATED MAN ".

1. Rome, Forum. Fragmentary. Shape square. Preserved, cm. 9 × 8. A m. figure is seated facing left in an attitude of dejection or submission, one leg drawn back under him, his r. arm resting on his knee. He wears a tunic with long sleeves and a Phrygian cap. To left is the head of a bearded man who must have stood before him with arm outstretched in a gesture of command or benediction above the head of the seated figure. A pilaster to right frames the scene. 3rd century.

v. " DRAPED FIGURE ".

1. Rosarno Medma. Mus. Syracuse. Fragmentary.

A foot in a pointed shoe with fragments of drapery covering the leg. A twisted staff at such an angle that the figure must have been leaning on the staff. Fine work, all details sharply defined. 4th century.

2. Rosarno Medma. Sepolcro 39. Fragmentary.

The feet and lower draperies of a female figure followed by the feet of another.

N. S., 1917, p. 45.

vi. " FLUTE-PLAYER AND DANCERS ".

Type A. In the centre stands a flute-player clad in a long double chiton and a mantle which swells out behind her. On either side of her are two young women in the attitudes of the dance. The dancer to right stands facing the centre and is nude save for a mantle over her r. shoulder and wrapped round her waist. The second dancer trips forward, quite nude, but with a veil floating out behind her with the violence of her motion. Beside her is a little Pan who holds a wreath in his r. hand and raises his l. to support the dancer. Ionic columns to right and left. Some examples have traces of colour: Pan red, chiton of *tibicina* blue above and red underneath, blue drapery of figure to right, violet dancer to left; hair of all red; ground black. 3rd century.

1. Rome, Esquiline. Coll. Dressel. 2 examples. Shape square.

Mon. Inst., XI, Pl. X, 6. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 272 f.

2. Rome, Esquiline. Coll. Castellani.

Ibid.

3. Rome. Antiquarium. Fragmentary. Cm. 10 × 7. Flute-player and dancer to right only.

Type B. Flute-player as before. The attitudes of the dancers are slightly varied. The mantle of the dancer to left hangs round her shoulders and falls by her side; she holds in her hand two round objects (κρόταλα?). The dancer to right turns towards the centre and lifts her hand as if to support something. The mantle floats behind her. Pan was not included. Ionic columns at sides.

1. Pl. 21. Rome, Museo Nazionale. 1 example. Right half only.
2. Rome. Coll. Dressel. 1 example. Fragment of left half.

Ann. Inst., 1879, p. 274, Pl. R.

vii. " STANDING YOUTH ".

A youthful head framed in curly hair and covered by a cap. At the side, as the terminal element of the scene, is the capital of a pillar.

1. Rosarno Medma. Fragmentary. 5th century.
   N. S., 1917, p. 53, Fig. 27.

VI. DECORATIVE SUBJECTS.

i. " GORGONEION ".

Gorgoneion with hair parted and waved back. Above the head is a pair of wings. Four serpents symmetrically arranged are knotted round the head. The forehead is wrinkled, the nose squat. Shape hourglass. 4th century.

1. Rome. Coll. Dressel.
   Mon. Inst., XI, Pl. X, 4. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 261, No. 6.
2. Rome. Pl. 22. Museo Nazionale. Cm. 11.5 × 10.
3. Rome, Esquiline, near " puticoli ". Cm. 12 × 10.
   Bull. Com., III (1875), p. 255, No. 9.
4. Falerii Veteres. Mus. Villa Giulia. Large disc earrings.
5. Nepete.
   N. S., 1896, p. 369, Fig. in text.
6. Capua. Mus. Berlin, No. 7206. Cm. 10.2 × 9.
   Ann. Inst., 1879, p. 288, note 4.

ii. " HEAD WITH PHRYGIAN CAP ".

A youthful head wearing a Phrygian cap tied under the chin with long ribbons which stream out to fill the space. Great wings curve up on either side of the face. 3rd century.

1. Rome, S. Eusebio. Mus. Conservatori. Shape hourglass. Cm. 19 × 14.
   Bull. Com., III (1875), p. 50, Pl. VI-VIII, 4. *Mon. Inst.*, XI, Pl. X, 7. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 261, No. 7.
2. Rome, Esquiline. Cm. 14.
   Bull. Com., I (1872-3), p. 307, No. 18.
3. Rome, Esquiline.
   Ibid., II (1874), p. 260, No. 22.
4. Capua. Mus. Campano. Several examples.
   Ann. Inst., 1880, p. 324.

iii. " COMIC MASK ".

Type A. Comic mask of the usual type with gaping mouth, wrinkled forehead and squinting eyes. Above the brow is a twisted fillet knotted at each side with hanging bows. Shape square. 3rd century.

1. Rome, Esquiline, Puticoli. Mus. Conservatori. Cm. 13 × 10. Traces of red colour.

Bull. Com., III (1875), p. 50. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 275, No. 16, Pl. R.

2. Rome. Antiquarium. 3 examples.

Type B. Slight variations. The face less broad and flat, the eyes large and round. Instead of the twisted fillet a *taenia* tied at the sides with flowers, leaves and hanging bows.

1. Rome, Esquiline. Mus. Conservatori. Cm. 11.3 × 12.

Bull. Com., VII (1879), p. 255, No. 9. *Mon. Inst.*, XI, Pl. X, 9.

2. Rome, Esquiline. Coll. Dressel.

Ann. Inst., 1879, p. 275.

3. Rome, Esquiline. Coll. Castellani.

Ibid.

4. Rome. Antiquarium. 1 example.

Type C. Slight variations: hair in heavy wig-like mass; no fillet.

1. Rome. Antiquarium. 1 example.

Mentioned in reports of excavations:

2. Rome, Esquiline. Cm. 14.

Bull. Com., I (1872-3), p. 307, No. 20.

iv. " YOUTHFUL HEAD ".

Head of a youth with thick locks which frame the face. Above and below the space is filled by broad bands bound together in the centre, and ending in spirals which follow the curve of the sides of the arula. Shape hourglass. 3rd century.

1. Rome, Esquiline, Puticoli. Mus. Conservatori. Cm. 14 × 14.

Bull. Com., III (1875), pp. 50, 55, Pl. VI-VIII, No. 2.

2. Rome, Esquiline. Coll. Dressel.

Mon. Inst., XI, Pl. X, 2. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 274, No. 14.

v. " FEMALE HEAD ".

Type A. The head is set as No. iv between branching spirals. The hair is waved back and bound by a simple ribbon; over the ears it is massed in elaborate coils. Shape hourglass. 3rd century.

1. Rome, Esquiline. Mus. Conservatori. Cm. 13 × 14.
2. Rome, Esquiline. Antiquarium. 3 examples.
3. Rome, Esquiline. Coll. Dressel. 2 examples.

Mon. Inst., XI, Pl. X, 10. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 274, No. 15.

4. Capua. Mus. Campano.

Ann. Inst., 1880, p. 323.

5. Provenance unknown. Louvre, Inv. S. 873 bis. Cm. 13 × 12.

Traces of colour, red on a white ground.

6. Pl. 22. Provenance unknown. British Museum. Cm. 13 × 18. Face destroyed.
7. Velletri. Museum. Cm. 14.

N. S., 1915, p. 87, Fig. 13.

Type B. Spirals as above. Instead of the hair puffed over the ears, she has large pendent earrings of a late Etruscan type. In the top half a rosette on each side follows the outward curve of the arula.

1. Falerii Veteres. Mus. Villa Giulia. 5 examples and fragment of a sixth.
2. Falerii Veteres, Vignale. Mus. Villa Giulia. 1 example.
3. Falerii Veteres, Sassi Caduti. Mus. Villa Giulia. 1 example.

Type C. Spirals as above. Instead of pendent earrings, there are round disc-like earrings.

1. Caere, Temple of Hera. 1 example. Cm. 12.5 × 14.5.
2. Capua. Museo Campano, No. 695. Cm. 17 × 12.

Type D. A female head adorned with necklace and pendants. Corkscrew curls en each side of face. In the space above the head are three rosettes.

1. Capua. Museo Campano, No. 677. Cm. 14.5 × 11.5.

Type E. A female head surrounded by spirals from the upper part of which protrudes the head of a bearded satyr.

1. Capua. Museo Campano, No. 672. Cm. 13.5 × 21 × 11. Only the r. half is preserved.

Type F. A female head, the face partly shrouded by a veil, a motif of the Pergamenian School.

1. Capua. Museo Campano, No. 675. Cm. 17 × 12 × 4.5. Reddish clay, cream slip.

Type G. A female head, archaic in type with parted hair, " smile ", eyes rendered plastically. On the top surface are impressed patterns of meander and circles.

1. Capua. Museo Campano, No. 683. Cm. 11 × 16 × 6.5. Clay coarse, reddish; traces of cream slip.

vi. " FEMALE HEAD WITH FLORAL MOTIVES ".

A female head with hair parted and waved loosely back. Earrings. Great sprays curve upward and follow the line of the arula; below is a many-petalled rosette. Traces of colour: ground black, foliage red and yellow. Cornice with egg moulding. Shape hourglass. 3rd century.

1. Rome. Coll. Dressel. Fragmentary; when complete, cm. 32 × 25.
Mon. Inst., XI, Pl. X, 11. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 278, No. 20.
2. Rome. Antiquarium. Left upper half only. Cm. 27 × 26.

vii. " TWO MASKS SEPARATED BY A PALMETTE ".

1. Provenance unknown. " Bought in Naples ". Louvre, " ancien fonds No. 4320 ". Cm. 29 × 16.

A double arula with two female masks with wild locks in separate strands. Above and below are broad bands ending in spirals and in the centre a palmette. Shape hourglass. 3rd century.

Ann. Inst., 1879, p. 282, Pl. Q. *Coll. Alessandro Castellani* (Paris 1884), p. 74, No. 552.

viii. " HEAD AND WINGED FIGURE ".

1. Rome, Esquiline, " Puticoli ". Antiquarium. Fragmentary. Cm. 14 × 15. 3rd century.

A nude winged figure with long locks stands frontally with one hand on hip and the other raised to hold aside the drapery from the great head or mask in the centre, of which only a couple of locks remain. A second winged being must have counterbalanced the first.

Mon. Inst., XI, Pl. X, 8. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 262, No. 8.

ix. " THREE MASKS ".

1. Falerii Veteres, Contrada Celle. Mus. Villa Giulia.

In the centre is a bearded head with two female heads on either side. Below are four re-entering spirals; above, in the curve of the arula to right and left, a rosette. Narrow cornice and base with double step moulding. Traces of dark red on mask to left. Much rubbed. Shape hourglass. 4th century.

x. " FEMALE FIGURE ".

1. Falerii Veteres. Mus. Villa Giulia. Fragmentary.

A female figure with a wreath on her head and arms outstretched. To fill the space in the curve of the arula above and below her arms is a rosette. Only the upper half of the figure remains. Shape hourglass. 3rd century.

xi. " SATYR'S HEAD ",

Head of young Satyr surrounded with spirals. The ears are very pointed and on the head is a wreath of vine leaves with clusters of grapes between them. Around the neck is a necklace with a bulla in the centre and numerous elongated lateral pendants. The style is intentionally formal, but not archaic.

1. Capua. Museo Campano, No. 673, 674. Cm. 16 × 21 × 9. 2 examples.

Type B. Bust of Satyr rising from a round base.

1. Capua. Museo Campano, No. 686. Cm. 9 × 6.5. Art crude, not archaic.

Type C. Satyr's head with pointed ears and small horns. Crude and provincial in style rather than archaic.

1. Capua. Museo Campano, No. 681. Cm. 15 × 17.5 × 11. Clay reddish brown.

xii. " PALMETTE ".

A palmette reversed enclosed in broad bands ending in spirals. Shape hourglass. With depression in top for incense. 5th century.

1. Rome, Esquiline. Mus. Conservatori.
   Ann. Inst., 1879, p. 284, Pl. R, 4.
2. Rome, Esquiline. Coll. Dressel.
   Ibid., p. 288, note 1.
3. Pl. 22. Rome. Mus. Nazionale.
4. Rome. Antiquarium. Top broken.
5. Capua. Mus. Campano.
   Ann. Inst., 1880, p. 323.
6. Nazzano, Necropolis.
   Bull. Inst., 1873, p. 121. *Ann. Inst.*, 1879, p. 288.

7. Velletri. Museum. Cm. 10 × 10 × 9.
8. Conca. Mus. Villa Giulia. Red clay.

xiii. " LOTUS BUD ".

1. Pl. 22. Rome, from the Tiber (?). Museo Nazionale. Shape hourglass. Cm. 12 × 8.5.

The lotus bud rises from volutes curving outward. 5th century.

2. Conca. Mus. Villa Giulia. Shape hourglass. Cream clay.

xiv. " ROSETTES ".

1. S. Mauro. Mus. Syracuse. Rectangular. Cm. 38 × 18 × 4.

On the front side are two eight-petalled rosettes in low relief. On the short sides the whole space is occupied by one large rosette. 6th century.

Mon. Ant., XX (1910), col. 820, Fig. 76.

xv. " FLORAL MOTIVES ".

1. Rome, Esquiline. Matrix, fragmentary. 4th century.

Ann. Inst., 1879, p. 291, Pl. R, 5 a.

VII. ILL-DEFINED SUBJECTS.

1. Provenance unknown. Coll. Santangelo, Naples.

" Double arula. Animals fighting on the long sides ". 5th century (?).

Ann. Inst., 1880, p. 324, note 2.

2. Provenance unknown. Coll. Campana. Shape square.

" Arula with bas-relief representing figures of both sexes in various attitudes ".

Coll. Campana Cat., IV, p. 23, Astuccio 3, No. 1.

3. Provenance unknown. Coll. Casuccini. Shape square.

" Several figures of both sexes, but mostly women, who celebrate a festive dance ".

Coll. Casuccini, Pls. II-V.

4. Provenance unknown. Mus. Naples.

" Small arula interesting for the subjects which adorn the four sides ".

Ann. Inst., 1880, p. 324, note 2.

5. Ostia, ruins of four temples on one stylobate, lowest stratum.

" Three fragments of parallelopipedal arette of coarse clay ".

Mon. Ant., XXIII (1916), col. 450.

6. Rome, Esquiline. Coll. Arndt, Munich.

" Small altar from ancient cultus site on the Esquiline ".

Sammlung Arndt (1908), *Griech. u. Röm. Kleinkunst*, p. 37.

7. Rome, Via Aurelia.

" In the cassettoni - - - an arula of terracotta ".

N. S., 1880, p. 55.

8. Gela, Sanctuary of Bitalemi. " 2 insignificant fragments of two different rectangular arulae ".

Mon. Ant., XVII (1907), col. 718.

9. S. Mauro, Piano della Fiera. 6th century.

" Fragments of fictile arulette with archaic reliefs ".

N. S., 1903, p. 432.

10. Taranto, Necropolis in Contrada Santa Lucia.

" Un' aretta ".

N. S., 1893, p. 254.

11. Civita Lavinia. Museo. Hourglass shape. Fragmentary.

12. Conca. Mus. Villa Giulia. Hourglass. Cream clay.

13. Conca. Mus. Villa Giulia. Hourglass. Right half only. Red clay. Animal?

14. Motya. Mus. Palermo. " Two fragments with part of projecting cornice, or part of indistinct relief ".

Arch. Stor. Sic., IX (1884), p. 13.

VIII. WITHOUT DESIGN.

1. Rome, Via S. Vito. Two examples.

N. S., 1890, p. 239. *Bull. Com.*, XVIII (1890), p. 352, No. 19.

2. Syracuse. Shape square. Two examples.

N. S., 1891, p. 390, Fig. in text.

3. Locri Epizephyrii, Necropolis, Tomb 860. 3 examples. Cm. $11 \times 8 \times 7$.

N. S., 1913, Suppl., p. 38.

4. Rome. Museo Nazionale. 5 examples.

5. Rome. Mus. Conservatori. 6 examples.

6. Rome. Antiquarium. 15 examples, mostly with very projecting cornice.

7. Motya. Coll. Whitaker. Cm. 27 × 12 × 12.
8. Motya. Coll. Whitaker. Cm. 19 × 10 × 11. With ornamented cornice.
9. Locri. Mus. Syracuse. Cm. 6 × 5 × 5.
10. Locri. Mus. Syracuse. Cm. 10 × 5.

A survey of the material proves that the earliest arulae are those from Sicily and Southern Italy, that is to say, from the Greek colonies. Of these the chief artistic centre is the Achaean Caulonia where owing to the careful excavations the finds can be fairly accurately dated. They represent about a century of development from the middle of the sixth to the middle of the fifth century B. C., although possibly the latest examples may belong to the end of the latter century. From Gela, Agrigentum, Croton and Locri come equally early types, whereas from Motya, a Phoenician colony, they are later, but probably importations since they are Greek in character.

The only theme found in all the colonies, Dorian, Achaean and Phoenician alike, is what is perhaps the earliest, the lion rending a bull. But this composition, well adapted to the space and treated with much realism and vivacity, is one of the commonest schemes of oriental art, and here is simply repeated with slight variations of pose. The sculptured basis from Loryma, ably discussed by T. L. Shear [1], is almost identical with the arula from Gela (I, ii, 10), and one may compare also the architrave from Assos [2] or the groups of poros sculpture from the Acropolis [3]. The idea underlying the motive seems to be that as here the weaker animal is always overcome by the lion's resistless force, so before the invincible might of Death all men are helpless victims. The arula from Centuripe (I, ii, 7, Pl. 16) shows the latest development of the type, for the animals' bodies stand out in high relief and technical finish reaches a high level. The other classes (I, i, iii, x) are variants of the original scheme, and even the elaborately treated griffins of the Apulian arulae go back to their prototypes embroidered on the robes of Assurnazarpal at Nimroud [4].

The earliest type of sphinx is figured in the example from Caulonia (II, i, 5), where the two bodies, thin to emaciation, unite in a single head. Less archaic are the heraldic sphinxes (II, i, 16, Pl. 7) whose severe conventionality is relieved by the lively realism of the feline paws. Although later in style, the sphinx from Selinus (II, i, 2) belongs to the large group of monuments with " perruques à étages " [5], while the specimen from Motya (II, i, 4) has the beautiful oval face and waved locks of an Attic grave monument.

Both the sphinx and the syren had an apotropaic significance and hence were regarded as appropriate funereal decoration: for the inscrutability of the former might hide a knowledge of the riddle of life and death, and the latter, if originally she lured men

[1] A. J. A., XVIII (1914), pp. 285 ff.
[2] *Rev. Arch.*, Ser. IV, XXII (1913), Figs. 15-21.
[3] WIEGAND, *Porosarchitektur*, Fig. 230 a, b.
[4] PERROT and CHIPIEZ, *Hist. de l'Art*, II, p. 171, Fig. 90 and Fig. 257.
[5] E. LOEWY, *Typenwanderung*, *Oest. Jahresh.*, XII, 1909, p. 287. F. POULSEN, *Der Orient u. d. Frühgriech. Kunst*, p. 159.

to their doom, was afterwards depicted as bewailing their untimely fate. The syren of the Conservatori (II, ii, 1, Pl. 18) probably expresses the earlier conception; the symmetrical rigidity of the attitude removes it to a region superhuman and mysterious. To the latter interpretation undoubtedly belongs the syren who holds in either hand the funereal torch (II, ii, 2-6, Pl. 18).

Satyrs, when the head alone is given (II, v, 5 and 6, Pl. 19), are probably apotropaic, but when portrayed in some merry attitude suggest the joy of life and the fulness of enjoyment (II, v, 1-4, Pl. 18). The head of a Satyr from the Esquiline is identical with those on the antefixes from the Temple at Vignale, Falerii Veteres [1] which has been ascribed to the latter half of the sixth century B. C., a dating confirmed by the arula itself, for its archaism is revealed by the absence of any architectonic framing.

The arulae representing divinities belong to the fully developed art of the third century B. C., but a touch of solemnity is added by the enclosing columns which appear to enshrine the scene, as they do also in the case of the syren with the torches. While treated with all the technical freedom of Campanian art, these arulae nevertheless are quite original in their presentment of well-known types. Here, for example, is a winged Dionysus (III, 3, Pl. 19) in what is otherwise quite an ordinary arrangement of the scene, and still more remarkable is the winged Europa (IV, i, Pl. 19), a *contaminatio* between a Victory and a Nereid [2]. This particular composition (minus the wings), common in the fourth century, was used on vases with polychrome reliefs as on the oinochoe of Athenian style in the British Museum [3]. An attractive hypothesis indicates Pythagoras of Rhegium as the sculptor who first transformed the draped maiden seated upon the back of a peaceful bull into an undraped Europa who hangs beside the bull's flank as he gallops over the sea [4]. The floating veil assimilated her to Leukothea, and gradually the likeness to the Nereids was enhanced. The diffusion of this composition, found in sites as widely separated as Memphis [5], Campania and the district round Rome, points to the assumption that at that period – the fourth century B. C. – this rendering was recognised as symbolic of the after-life, since Europa's passage over the sea was the prelude to more than mortal bliss.

Unique upon arulae is the Biga with winged horses and winged driver (IV, viii, 1) which recalls the fictile friezes from Velletri and Palestrina [6]. There have been frequent discussions as to the meaning of the procession of chariots with their winged steeds [7]: in

[1] A. Della Seta, *Religione e Arte Figurata*, Fig. 128.
[2] O. Jahn, *Entführung der Europa*, pp. 50 ff.
[3] *Cat. Vases*, IV, G. 6, p. 237.
[4] A. Reinach, *Neapolis*, II, pp. 242 ff.
[5] O. Rubensohn, *Hellenistisches Silbergerät*, p. 15, Pl. II, 2.
[6] *N. S.*, 1915, pp. 66-88 (G. Mancini); *op. cit.*, 1905, pp. 124 f.
[7] F. Cumont, *Rev. Hist. des Religions*, LXII (1910), pp. 155 ff. P. Ducati, *Mon. Ant.*, XX (1910), cols. 582 ff.

this case the presence of a winged driver, a very unusual detail, definitely removes the subject into the realm of the supernatural.

Archaic, also, are the arulae from Palermo and Agrigentum with a quadriga (V, ii, 1-2) where everything is simplified to its utmost extent and the body of the chariot is almost suppressed. Comparison with the metope from Temple C at Selinus proves that the arulae have preserved for us an even earlier presentment of the subject which must have been a favourite one in that region famous for prize-winning steeds. A closer analogy than the metope is afforded by the b. f. vases: for example, the Chalcidian amphora found at Vulci and now in the Bibliothèque Nationale [1]. The attitude of the horses is practically identical and the chariot is suggested in the same summary manner. One would like to fancy that these arulae were fashioned for the tombs of victorious aurigae: at least they attest the local fondness for the sport.

The tibicina and dancers (V, vi, 1-3), too orgiastic in appearance to be engaged in any everyday merrymaking, are, moreover, seemingly removed from common life by the companionship of the little Pan: yet he may be a fortuitous addition, and his absence in Type B, Pl. 21, leads to the conclusion that the more symmetrical composition is the earlier. The hieratic figure of the tibicina forms an axis round which the dancers revolve. It is significant that all these specimens were found in Rome itself, and apparently, all in tombs, suggesting that this dance enlivened some banquet in commemoration of the dead such as those depicted in Etruscan tombs. Livy, VII, 2, mentions that in B. C. 364 *ludiones, ex Etruria acciti, ad tibicinis modos saltantes haud indecoros motus dabant,* and this group possibly illustrates his words. The Etruscan dancers with their transparent garments and clicking *crotala* as seen in the Tomba delle Leonesse etc., form a prototype to those of the arulae where the clothing is even scantier and the attitudes more abandoned.

I have alluded to the influence of these arulae upon Roman sarcophagi, an influence which has previously been attributed exclusively to the Etruscan urns. These latter undoubtedly determined the shape of the earlier tombs and the effigy of the deceased upon the lid. But attention has often been drawn to the sanguinary character of the Etruscan reliefs, whereas in their Roman successors a milder and more allegorical choice of subjects is noticeable. Therefore it is credible that, before they became acquainted with Greek masterpieces like the Alexander sarcophagus, such funereal themes as the lion rending a bull had been made familiar to the Romans by the humble arulae which had popularised a series of representations unknown upon the Etruscan urns but consecrated, even in their original home in Asia Minor, to the adornment of tombs and the cult of the dead. The arula with rosettes from S. Mauro (VI, xiv) may be compared with the tomb of the Scipios, one of the earliest decorated sarcophagi, and both arulae and sarcophagi

[1] S. Reinach, *Rép. Vases Peints,* II, p. 253, 5.

follow the same course of evolution, from the low relief of primitive examples to high relief and ordered beauty of composition. Anyone looking at an illustration of the arula from Medma (IV, xi) would be deceived into thinking it was a marble sarcophagus which was depicted, of unusually fine workmanship and entirely Greek in feeling.

To sum up the conclusions: these arulae originate with the Greek colonies: they are not found however on the Greek mainland [1], and must therefore reveal a usage and, possibly, a cult either purely local or brought from somewhere other than the mother country of the settlers. The subjects represented are schemes common to Oriental art, and here the Loryma basis comes to our assistance: for it shows that precisely on an altar basis just such subjects were treated. Presumably, then, the Greek colonists knew of the use of sculptured altars as tomb monuments in Asia Minor at any rate, if not in Greece proper, and in their new homes they perpetuated this form of memorial, but in miniature, depositing it *within* instead of *upon* the tomb. Although this was the original purpose of the arulae, it is easily conceivable that they were soon also dedicated as ex-votos in sanctuaries, or even employed in houses for commemorative or domestic cults, which would account for their presence in temples and dwelling houses.

This custom must have been carried north by the colonists, for after a long tract of territory where arulae are not found, they appear again in the Greek settlement of Capua and then in Rome and the neighborhood, including Caere and Ardea, both traditional Greek foundations. The isolated finds at Hadria and Baccuco in Picenum must be due to this influence, for it was refugees from the tyranny of Dionysius of Syracuse who about 380 B. C. built the haven of Ancona.

The prevalence in the northern district of the hourglass shape, never found in Sicily or Southern Italy, implies the influence of another tradition which can only be Etruscan, a supposition confirmed by comparison with the altars of Veiovis from Bovillae, of Calvinus from the Palatine [2], or the cippus altar from Orvieto [3]. Mykenean gems show close parallels to this type and so do Babylonian seal cylinders [4]. Now it is noteworthy that this is precisely the shape of the so-called " table-leg altars " of Maltese megalithic buildings, where they are often placed in a shrine or niche very similar to that of the altar found at Fiesole [5]. " The form of these niches is possibly derived from the dolmen, the original form of the tombs of the heroes who were worshipped in these sanctuaries " [6]; and the analogy between these pillars and the baetylic cults in Aegean and Semitic lands

[1] Terracotta arulae were found at Delphi, but these are much later, Hellenistic in type. Some fine examples are now in the Boston Museum. See Pl. 22.

[2] H. C. Bowerman, *Roman Sacrificial Altars* (1913), pp. 11 ff., Nos. 2, 3, Pl. II.

[3] F. Studniczka, *Oest. Jahresh.*, VI (1903), p. 141, Fig. 89.

[4] W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, p. 363, Figs. 387, 1234 etc.

[5] F. Studniczka, *op. cit.*, Fig. 88.

[6] T. Ashby, *P. B. S. R.*, VI (1913), p. 6.

has been pointed out [1]. Even if we hesitate to admit that the pillar was the aniconic symbol of the deceased, yet it seems to have an undoubted sepulchral significance and implies that the hourglass type of pillar or altar was considered typical of the cult of the dead, an association it retained in Italy until the end of the Republic. Thus one can trace the sequence from the neolithic " table-leg altar " through the Babylonian variations and the Mykenean culture, to the terracotta arulae, the type gradually losing the pillar-like form and becoming squarer in section until it culminates in the altars of Calvinus and Verminus [2].

Rome, October 1917.

---

[1] A. Evans, *J. H. S.*, XXI (1901), pp. 200 ff.
[2] H. C. Bowerman, *op. cit.*, p. 10, No. 1, Pl. I, and see p. 63 for discussion of type.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

600-550 B. C.

Subject.	Provenance.	Catalogue Reference Number.
Double Sphinx	Caulonia	II, i, 3.
Biga with winged steeds	Rome	IV, viii, 1.
Quadriga facing frontally	Palermo	V, ii, 1.
Two quadrigae racing	Gela	V, ii, 3.

550-500 B. C.

Lion attacking stag	Caulonia	I, i, 1.
Lion rending bull	Gela	I, ii, 10.
Griffin in attitude of defense	S. Mauro	I, xi, 1.
Sphinx	Metaurum	II, i, 1.
Siren with *κύμβαλα*	Rome	II, ii, 1, Pl. 18.
Satyr with amphora. Reverse: *ἅλιος γέρων*	Caulonia	II, v, 1.
Satyr's head	Rome	II, v, 5.
Athena Promachos, Herakles and Centaur	Croton	III, i, 4.
Herakles and the Hydra	Croton	IV, ix, 1.
Quadriga racing to left	Locri Epizephyrii	V, ii, 5.
Three horsemen	Gela	V, ii, 9.

500-450 B. C.

Lion attacking stag	Locri Epizephyrii	I, i, 4.
Lion springs from r. on stag	Caulonia	I, i, 5.
Lion rending bull	S. Mauro	I, ii, 2.
Lion attacks horse	Provenance unknown	I, iii, 1.
Two lions rending bull	Caulonia	I, iv, 1.
Two felines devouring stag	Provenance unknown	I, v, 1.
Boar confronts dog	Caulonia	I, vii, 1.
Single animal on all four sides	Caulonia	I, xvii, 1.
Sphinx	Selinus	II, i, 2.
Centaur	Motya	II, vi, 1, Pl. 18.
Gorgon	Syracuse	II, viii, 1.
Herakles and Achelous	Locri Epizephyrii	IV, x, 1.

450-400 B. C.

Sphinx	Motya	II, i, 4.
Two sphinxes	Rome	II, i, 6, Pl. 17.
Satyr running	Lanuvium	II, v, 3, Pl. 18.
Satyr with rhyton	Rome	II, v, 4.
Λοκρίδες Παρθένοι	Rosarno Medma	IV, xi, 1.
Winged Youth.	Rome	IV, xii, 1.
Hypnos and Thanatos	Rome	IV, xiii, 1.
Warrior and Centaur	Rome	IV, xiv, 1.
Palmette	Rome	VI, xii, 3, Pl. 22.
Lotus Bud	Rome	VI, xiii, 1, Pl. 22.
Rosettes	S. Mauro	VI, xiv, 1.

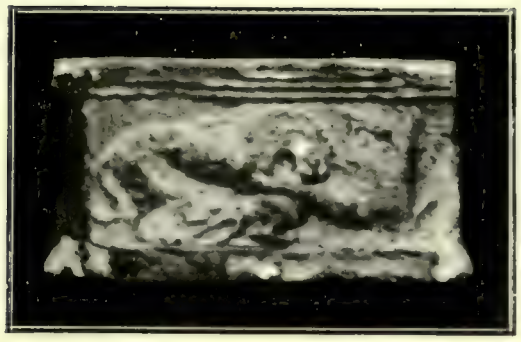
400-300 B. C.

Subject.	Provenance.	Catalogue Reference Number.
Lion rending bull	Centuripe	I, ii, 7, Pl. 16.
Fight between two Boars	Provenance unknown	I, viii, 1.
Griffins attack Horse	Selinus	I, ix, 1.
Bull alone	Locri Epizephyrii	I, xiv, 1.
Syren holding Torches	Rome	II, ii, 2-5, Pl. 18.
Syren between columns	Caulonia, Vigna Delfino	II, ii, 6.
Satyr's Head	Provenance unknown	III, v, 6, Pl. 19.
Europa on the Bull	Calvi	IV, i, 1.
Ditto	Rome	IV, i, 2-7, Pls. 19, 20.
Ditto	Civita Castellana	IV, i, 8.
Ditto, Type A variations, B, C and D	Rome	IV, i, Pl. 20, etc.
Ditto, Type D	Cervetri	IV, i, Type D, 1.
Nereid on Dolphin	Rome	IV, iv, 1-8, Pl. 21.
Ditto	Capua	IV, iv, 9.
Ditto, Type B	Rome	IV, iv, Type B, 1.
Ditto, Type C	Capua	IV, iv, Type C, 1.
Ditto, Type D	Capua	IV, iv, Type D, 1.
Maenad on Panther	Rome	IV, v, 1.
Fight between Warrior and Amazon	Baccuco	IV, xv, 1.
Ditto	Atri	IV, xv, 2.
Monomachia	Ardea	V, i, 1.
Two Horsemen (Dioscuri?)	S. Mauro	V, ii, 8.
Two Men seated	Civita Lavinia	V, iii, 1, Pl. 21.
Gorgoneion	Rome	VI, i, 1-3, Pl. 22.
Ditto	Civita Castellana	VI, i, 4.
Ditto	Nepi	VI, i, 5.
Ditto	Capua	VI, i, 6.
Three Masks	Civita Castellana, Contrada Celle	VI, ix, 1.

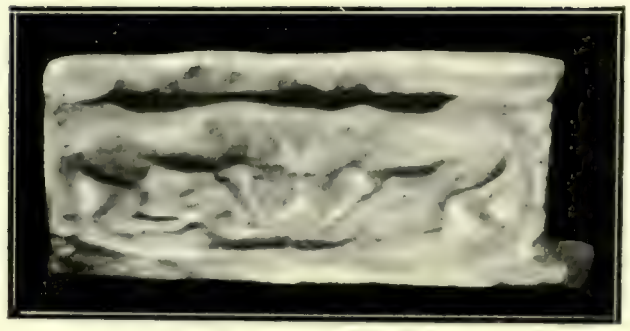
300 B. C. and later.

Bull charging Serpent	Rome	I, xiii, 1, Pl. 17.
Capitoline Triad	Rome, Esquiline	III, i, 1.
Toilette of Aphrodite	Rome, S. Antonio	III, i, 2.
Dionysiac scene	Rome	III, i, 3, Pl. 19.
Winged Youth on Panther	Rome, Esquiline	IV, vi, 1.
Ditto	Civita Lavinia	IV, vi, 2.
Flute Player and Dancers	Rome	V, v, 1 ff.
Head with Phrygian Cap	Rome	VI, ii, 1-3.
Ditto	Le Curti	VI, ii, 4.
Comic Mask	Rome	VI, iii, Types A & B.
Head of Youth	Rome	VI, iv, 1-2.
Ditto	Velletri	VI, iv, 3.
Female head	Rome	VI, v, 1, 2, Pl. 22.
Ditto	Le Curti	VI, v, 3.
Ditto, Type B	Civita Castellana	VI, v, Type B, 1-3.
Ditto, Type C	Cervetri	VI, v, Type C.
Female head with floral motives	Rome	VI, vi, 1, 2.
Two female heads with palmettes	Provenance unknown	VI, vii, 1.
Head and winged figure	Rome, Esquiline, Puticoli	VI, viii, 1.
Female figure with arms outstretched	Civita Castellana	VI, x, 1.

I, ii, 7. Arula from Centuripe, Syracuse Museum.



I, iii, 2. Motya.



I, vi, 2. Motya.

I, xiii, 1. Rome, Conservatori.

I, xvi, 1. Naples Museum.

II, i, 6. Rome, Museo Nazionale.

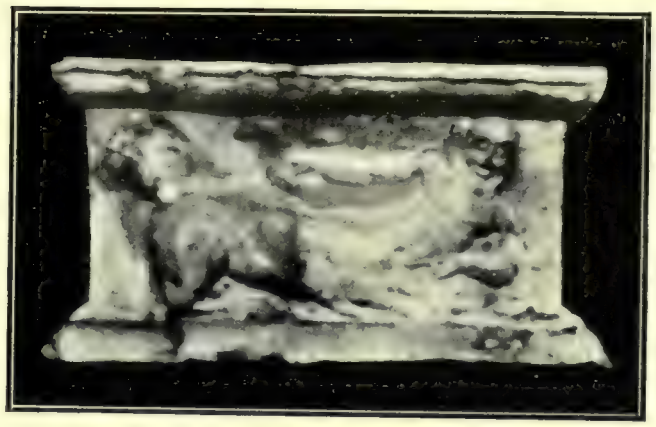
II, i, 7. Naples Museum.

TERRACOTTA ARULAE.

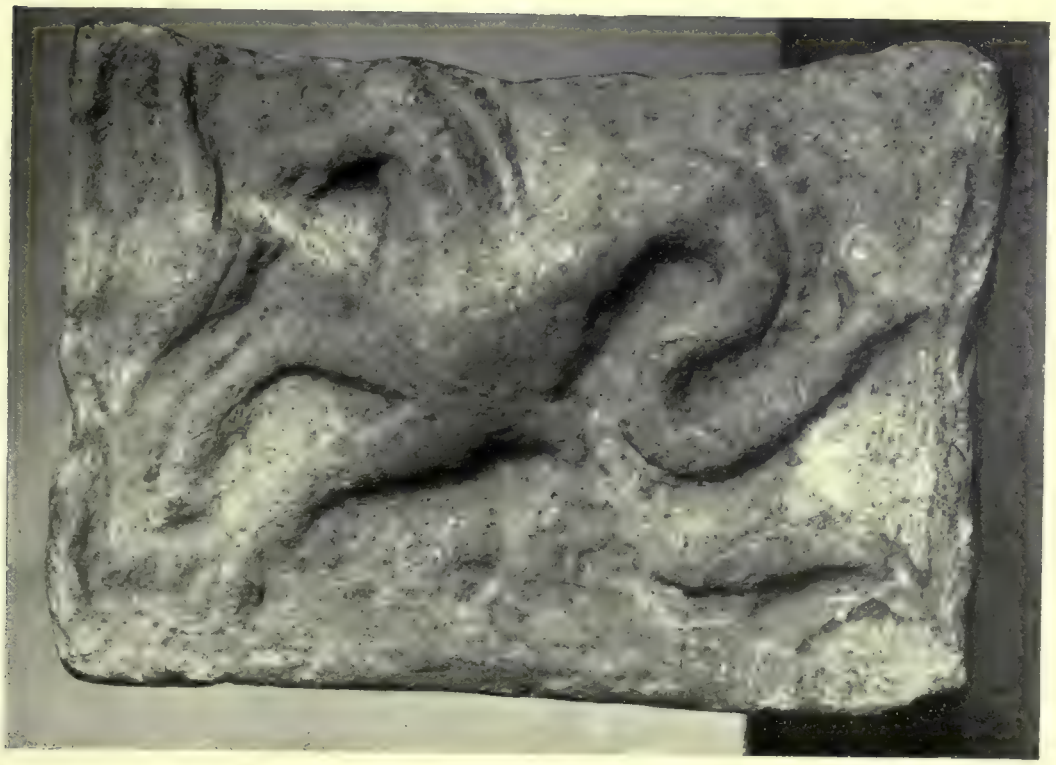
II, ii, 1. Conservatori.

II, ii, 4. Palatine.

II, v, 3. British Museum.



II, vi, 1. Motya.



II, vii, 1. Paris, Louvre.

TERRACOTTA ARULAE.

II, vii, 2. Naples Museum.

II, v, 6. Louvre.

III, 3. Rome, Museo Nazionale.

IV, i, 5. Rome, Museo Nazionale.

IV, i, 5. Rome, Museo Nazionale.

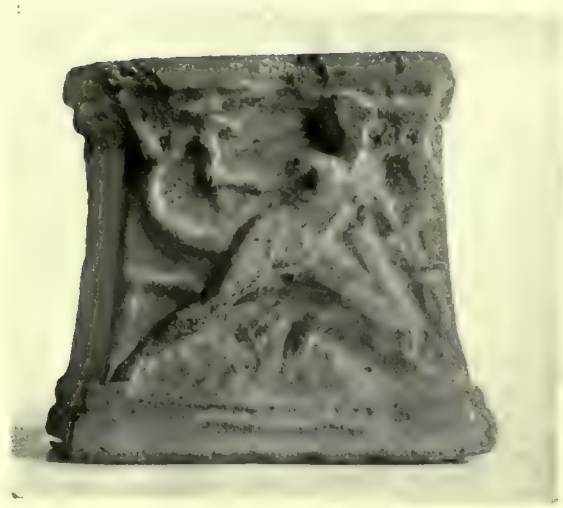
V, i, Type B, 4. Rome, Museo Nazionale.

IV, iii, 1. Paris, Louvre.

IV, ii, 1. Paris, Louvre.

TERRACOTTA ARULAE.

IV, iv, 6. Rome, Museo Nazionale.



IV, iv, 6. Rome, Museo Nazionale.

V, iii, 1. British Museum.

V, vi, Type B, 1. Rome, Museo Nazionale.

TERRACOTTA ARULAE.

VI, v, 6. British Museum.

VI, i, 2. Rome, Museo Nazionale.

VI, xii, 3. Rome, Museo Nazionale.

VI, xiii, 1. Rome, Museo Nazionale.

Boston Museum.

Boston Museum.

See p. 51, n. 1.

TERRACOTTA ARULAE.

See p. 51, n. 1.

THE GALLIC FIRE AND ROMAN ARCHIVES.

LUCY GEORGE ROBERTS.

THE student of early Roman history meets at the very outset a discouraging diversity of opinion on the fundamental question of whether any of Rome's earliest documents survived the Gallic fire of 387 B. C. Recently the skeptics have predominated with their insistence that the historians who wrote of the fifth century B. C. had nothing but oral tradition to follow, a view which indeed has the support of Livy [1]: *et quod etiam si quae in commentariis pontificum aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa (a Gallis) urbe pleraeque interiere.* Others still cling to the faith that there is at least a substratum of sound material in the traditional accounts of that period. Though we may hardly hope to reach complete certainty in this matter, it now seems to be an opportune time to sum up the available facts and probabilities that bear thereon, both because recent excavations have afforded us some little knowledge about a few of the monuments which existed before the fire, and also because our new knowledge of early Rome and the Latian cities is beginning to awaken a conviction that we have been somewhat too skeptical about the importance which the traditional accounts attribute to the city of the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. It is, accordingly, the purpose of this paper to determine, so far as possible, the effect of the Gallic invasion on the archives of the city.

We are able to ascertain the location of the documents which were of historical importance. Those of an international character lay in the temples of the city and chiefly in that of Jupiter Capitolinus. Here was deposited the important treaty with Carthage of 509 B. C. where it was to be seen in Polybius' day [2], and in later times this temple had become so important as a record office that Suetonius says of Vespasian: *Ipse restitutionem Capitolii adgressus..... aerearum tabularum tria milia, quae simul conflagraverant, restituenda suscepit undique investigatis exemplaribus: instrumentum imperii pulcherrimum ac vetustissimum, quo continebantur paene ab exordio urbis senatus consulta, plebiscita de so-*

[1] VI, 1.

[2] POLYB., III, 22, 4; 26, 1.

cietate et foedere ac privilegio cuicumque concessis [1]. On the other hand the treaties of Tarquinius Superbus with Gabii and of Servius Tullius with the Latins were kept in the temples of Dius Fidius and of Diana respectively [2], and in Cicero's day the treaty of Spurius Cassius with the Latins, concluded in 493 B. C., was posted in the Forum behind the Rostra [3]. But, since in these cases there were special reasons for the location of the treaties [4], it seems probable that in earlier, as in later, times the regular place for such documents was the Capitoline.

The Aerarium of the temple of Saturn served as the store house for the records connected with the internal administration of the city [5]. To be sure, the *Senatus Consulta*, in 449 B. C., were filed in the temple of Ceres, according to Livy [6], but these were later transferred to the Aerarium also, where they were to be found in 187 B. C. [7] That the *leges* were always kept in the treasury may be assumed, since there is no proof of other location for them [8].

The Laws of the Twelve Tables are, of course, in a class by themselves. These were inscribed on tablets which were posted on the Rostra [9].

Pontifical records were stored in the Regia. Among these, the records inscribed each year on the *tabula dealbata* which the *pontifex maximus* hung outside the building and which were afterward published under the name *Annales Maximi*, were of primary importance to the historians [10].

Naturally the survival or destruction of these archives depends on the extent to which Rome suffered during the Gallic invasion. That the devastation was general is usually assumed. In Huelsen-Carter, " The Roman Forum " (p. 7), for example, the following statement occurs: " When the Gauls captured the city..... Forum and Comitium were laid waste. Probably very few of the monuments of the earliest Rome managed to survive this catastrophe ". This view is supported by three considerations upon which our traditions agree.

1. The Gauls occupied the city for a period of some months. Varro, Florus and Orosius say six months, Servius, eight, and Polybius, Plutarch and the calendar of Silvius [11] agree on seven. Kornemann [12] believes that the latter represents the best tradition, being

[1] *Vesp.*, 8; cf. Polyb., III, 26; Roscher, s. v. *Juppiter*, pp. 723-4.

[2] Dion. Hal., IV, 58; 26; Festus, M., p. 56.

[3] Cic., *Balb.*, 53; Liv., II, 33, 9.

[4] Dion. Hal., IV, 26; see below p. 62.

[5] Dziatzko, s. v. *Archive*, Pauly-Wissowa, col. 561.

[6] III, 55, 13.

[7] Liv., XXXIX, 4, 8; cf. Mommsen, *St. R.*, III, p. 1010.

[8] Cf. *Lex Licinia Junia* (62 B. C.) in Kubitschek, s. v. *Aerarium*, Pauly-Wissowa, col. 669. The *Lex Icilia* was kept on the Aventine for a special reason.

[9] Diod., XII, 26; Liv., III, 57, 10; Dion. Hal., X, 57.

[10] Cato, (Gell., II, 28); Cic., *de orat.*, II, 52; Serv., *ad Aen.*, I, 373; Cichorius, *Annales*, Pauly-Wissowa.

[11] Varro, (Non., p. 498 M.); Florus, I, 7, 15; Oros., II, 19, 13; Serv., *ad Aen.*, VIII, 652; Polyb., II, 22, 5; Plut., *Cam.*, 28, 2; 30, 1; *C. I. L.*, I², p. 259, to Feb. 13.

[12] Klio, XI, pp. 335 f.; p. 340, n. 3.

derived from the *Annales Maximi*. Be that as it may, it is obvious that in a siege of several months the barbarians could, and doubtless would, work an immense amount of devastation.

2. Our sources assume that the city was practically razed to the ground. Diodorus (XIV, 115, 6) makes the brief statement (the Gauls) τάς τε πύλας ἐξέκοψαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐλυμαίνοντο, χωρὶς ὀλίγων οἰκιῶν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ, and later (116, 8): Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, τῶν μὲν οἰκιῶν κατεσκαμμένων.... . Livy (V, 41-43) describes a gradual destruction of the city, beginning with [1], *post principum caedem nulli deinde mortalium parci, diripi tecta, exhaustis inici ignes,* and concluding with the words [2], *Galli quoque per aliquot dies in tecta modo urbis nequiquam bello gesto cum inter incendia ac ruinas captae urbis nihil superesse praeter armatos hostes viderent.* This same picture of complete devastation is given in the speech of Camillus (51-55) and in the statement about documents, quoted above. Plutarch (*Cam.*, 31) definitely asserts that the city was entirely destroyed: καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν ἔδει παντάπασι διεφθαρμένην.

3. Diodorus, Livy and Plutarch [3] give descriptions of a complete rebuilding of the city, a work which proceeded with such speed that, according to Livy and Plutarch [4], a new city arose within a year. It is the work on private houses which is most emphasized by all. In regard to the shrines and temples of the city, Livy (V, 50, 2) records a *Senatus Consultum,* passed at once upon the withdrawal of the Gauls: *fana omnia, quoad ea hostis possedisset, restituerentur, terminarentur, expiarenturque, expiatioque eorum in libris per duumviros quaereretur.* Plutarch's notice (*Cam.*, 30) is similar. He says, " When Camillus had sacrificed to the gods and purified the city...., he restored the temples which already existed and erected a new one ". The only other notices of public work relate to the city's fortifications – those of the Capitoline, in 385 B. C., and the city wall, in 375 B. C. [5] It is impossible to discuss here the significance of these notices. The nature of the city's fortifications in 387 B. C. is still a disputed point [6] and we can hardly decide how much this work consisted in replacing the walls actually destroyed by the Gauls or, on the other hand, in strengthening the fortifications shown to be inadequate.

Such is the historical basis for believing that Rome was completely destroyed by the Gauls. Two facts, however, should be noted in this connection. 1. There is a striking absence of explicit notices both in regard to the destruction and the rebuilding of the city [7]. The earliest specific restoration recorded is that of the temple of Apollo in 353

[1] Livy, V, 41, 10.
[2] *Ibid.*, 43, 1.
[3] Diod., XIV, 116, 8; Liv., V, 55; Plut., *Cam.*, 32.
[4] Liv., VI, 4, 6; Plut., *op. cit.*, 32, 3.
[5] Liv., VI, 4; 32.
[6] See Graffunder, *Klio*, 1911, p. 83; *Rom* in Pauly-Wissowa, col. 1025; Delbrück, *Der Apollotempel auf dem Marsfelde*, pp. 14 f.; Richter, *Topog.*², p. 43; Carter, *Röm. Mitt.*, 1910, p. 83.
[7] The only exception to this is the mention of an unimportant building whose destruction is recorded in connection with the preservation of the *lituus* of Romulus. (Cic., *de Div.*, I, 17 (30); Dion. Hal., XIV, 2; Plut., *Cam.*, 32; cf. *Fasti Praen., ad X kal. Apr.*).

B. C. [1] The emphasis on the *expiatio*, in the description of the rebuilding given by Livy and Plutarch, as well as the fact that the restoration of the temples could take place in such wholesale fashion, seems to indicate that the need of reconstruction and purification was greater than that of rebuilding [2]. 2. The traditional accounts of the war in other aspects have been shown to be full of difficulties and contradictions, – a mixture of legend and confused fact, influenced by aetiology, into which have been incorporated features borrowed from various sources [3].

In consideration of these facts, it is impossible to accept the estimate of tradition regarding the amount of devastation wrought by the Gauls without testing it by the archaeological evidence available.

In considering the monuments of Rome in topographical order, it is natural to start with the Forum because this would be the part of Rome to suffer most at the hands of the invaders in consequence of its proximity to the besieged Capitol. In 387 B. C. its major monuments were the temples of Saturn, Castor and Vesta, and the Regia.

The temple of Saturn, according to tradition, was dedicated Dec. 17, 498 B. C. [4] There is no record of a restoration of it previous to that made by Munatius Plancus in 42 B. C. [5] The extant ruins contain remains of the buildings of three different periods. The superstructure is late, probably of the fourth century A. D. [6] In the foundation and the podium, on the other hand, is found *opus caementicium* of the time of Augustus, which with the travertine *opus quadratum* constitutes the remains of the structure of Plancus [7]. Traces of the earliest structure can be observed at the base of the concrete foundation of the steps as well as in the eastern wall of the podium. Now since the type of construction seen here – *opus quadratum* of low blocks of the friable, gray tufa, usually called *cappellaccio* – is that found in the Roman monuments of the pre-Gallic period [8], we can recognize in these remains the first structure ot 498 B. C. Since moreover there are no traces of any building between this earliest one and that of Plancus, we are justified in assuming that the restoration of Plancus is very probably the first the building had experienced. There is further support for this assumption in the fact pointed out by E. B. Van Deman that the *caementa* which " consist in great part of the rejected or broken materials of the preceding period " [9], in the *opus caementicium* of Saturn consist of *cappellaccio* and other poorer varieties of tufa used previous

[1] Liv., VII, 20, 9.

[2] Cf. Gilbert, *Topogr.*, III, p. 32.

[3] Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.*, II, pp. 297-381; Hirschfeld, *Kl. Schr.*, pp. 273 ff.; Täubler, *Camillus u. Sulla, Klio*, XII, pp. 219 ff.; Münzer, *Furius Camillus* in Pauly-Wissowa, cols. 324 ff.; Kornemann, *loc. cit.*; De Sanctis, *Storia*, II, pp. 166 ff.

[4] Liv., II, 21, 2; Dion. Hal., VI, 1, 4; *C. I. L.*, I², p. 337; *Eph. Epig.*, III, p. 65; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult.*², p. 205, n. 3.

[5] Suet., *Aug.*, 29; *C. I. L.*, VI, 1, 1316; X, 1, 6087.

[6] Huelsen-Carter³, p. 80; Richter, p. 80.

[7] Van Deman, *The Date of Concrete Monuments, A. J. A.*, 1912, pp. 391-2.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 241-2.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 234.

to 387 B. C. [1]. As it is impossible that this temple lay in ruins between the Gallic fire and the time of Augustus, we may accordingly conclude that it escaped in the pillage of 387 B. C. without serious injury [2].

In a similar fashion the ruins of the temple of Castor give evidence for the survival of the edifice in 387 B. C. Tradition records that the temple was dedicated Jan. 27, 484 B. C. [3] and restored twice – in 117 B. C. by L. Caecilius Metellus Dalmaticus and again in 6 A. D. [4] The greater part of the ruins belong to this later restoration. In some six places however considerable remains of the *opus quadratum* of low *cappellaccio* blocks, belonging to the earliest structure, can be seen [5]. This type of construction is the same as that found in the temple of Saturn and in other Roman monuments of the pre-Gallic period and apparently belongs to the original building of 484 B. C. Traces of a third structure also are found in the podium of the temple. The mode of building here is *opus caementicium* which is found in no dated monument previous to the temple of Concord erected in 121 B. C. and its introduction is assigned to the early or middle part of the 2nd century B. C. [6] This third structure then would seem to be the restoration of Metellus in 117 B. C. The same course of reasoning holds good here as in the case of the temple of Saturn. There are no traces of a building between the structures of 484 and 117 B. C. Again the *caementa* of *cappellaccio* would seem to support the conclusion that the temple was not destroyed in 387 B. C.

The evidence offered by the remains of the Regia is much less satisfactory. The foundation of the building was ascribed to Numa [7] and there are records of its destruction by fire in the years 210, 148 and 36 B. C. At the last date, it was restored by Domitius Calvinus [8]. There are remains of a pre-Gallic structure in the cistern and *cappellaccio* foundation wall on the north side, but these remains are not sufficiently exposed

[1] Van Deman, pp. 391-2.

[2] On the native stones of Rome see Verri, *Carta Geologica di Roma*, 1915. A vein of *cappellaccio*, 10-15 ft. in depth, crops out above the quaternary shales on both sides of the Velabrum, *i. e.*, near the foot of both the Capitoline and Palatine. This is still visible at the Volcanal in the Forum, at No. 53 via della Consolazione and, on the Palatine, behind S. Maria Antiqua where it crops out some 15 ft. above the level of the Forum.

There is another outcrop of this stone near the top of both hills, but the vein on the Capitoline was thin and much weathered and was probably little used. The vein on the Palatine may be seen below the foundations of the " Casa Romuli ". This seems to have been used for the cisterns and the foundations of the early Palatine houses.

This stone was fairly durable while under ground, and easily worked, hence freely used at first. For the early buildings of the Forum and probably of the Capitoline, it was quarried at the foot of the Arx, a place long called *lautumiae*. This quarry was probably discontinued in the 4th c. B. C., since the stone was found to have poor weathering qualities and continued cutting would endanger the Arx and buildings then in process of erection.

[3] Liv., II, 42, 5; Dion. Hal., VI, 13, 4; Ovid, *Fast.*, I, 705; *C. I. L.*, I², p. 308.

[4] Cic., *pro Scauro*, 46; *in Verr.*, Act. II, 1, 154; Suet., *Tib.*, 20; Dio, LV, 27. A later restoration of Domitian or Hadrian (Richter, p. 87) is disputed by Van Deman, p. 393, n. 6.

[5] Van Deman, pp. 242-3, Fig. 7; Van Buren, *C. R.*, 1906, p. 78.

[6] Van Deman, pp. 244-6.

[7] Tac., *Ann.*, XV, 41; Hor., *Carm.*, I, 2, 15; Ovid, *Trist.*, III, 1, 30 etc.

[8] Liv., XXVI, 27; Obseq., 19; Dio, XLVIII, 42.

above ground to indicate anything about the fate of the building in 387. The foundation wall on the south side is also of *cappellaccio* but of an entirely different style and workmanship. The fact that it lies under a platform of brown tufa, cut in a fashion that prevailed in Sulla's time, gives a terminus *ante quem*. But since it is of *cappellaccio*, we can safely assume a much earlier date than this and it seems quite possible that it may represent a hasty restoration after the Gallic fire. The fact that the *Annales Maximi* were probably burned in 387 B. C., offers evidence to this effect. Cichorius [1] has pointed out a passage in Cicero [2] which apparently indicates that the earliest eclipse mentioned in the *Annales* preserved in his day was that of 351 a. u. c. = 403 B. C. In that case, the earlier records were lost and could only be restored for such a length of time previous to 387 B. C. as the memory could cover. The Regia and its contents, therefore, were probably destroyed by the Gauls.

The remains of the old Rostra also seem to indicate that it did not survive in 387. These have been described by Schneider [3]. The earliest structure of which traces can be seen has been assigned to the time of the kings by Petersen, to the early republic by Huelsen. It is significant, however, that the foundations consist largely of the brown tufa which first became common in post-Gallic structures [4]. Nothing can be argued from the preservation of the Laws of the Twelve Tables or the statues of the ambassadors to Fidenae [5], since the former could easily have been restored from memory and the latter may well have stood in a different location at the time of the invasion [6].

In the Campus Martius outside the Porta Carmentalis stood the temple of Apollo which Asconius [7] says was the only one erected to that deity previous to the Augustan age. Livy [8] records its dedication in 431 B. C. Under the date 353 B. C. [9] he makes the statement, *et aedes Apollinis dedicata est*. This must refer to a restoration of the same temple since the words of Asconius are definite and his authority can not be ignored [10]. The extant remains of the temple, which have been fully described by Delbrück [11], seem to indicate a post-Gallic mending. The foundation wall, which is still visible, is about 230 cm. thick [12] and consists of a core of low *cappellaccio* blocks, similar to those in the

[1] Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Annales*.

[2] *de rep.*, I, 25.

[3] Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Rednerbühne*.

[4] Van Deman, p. 243.

[5] Cic., *de leg.*, II, 4, 9; *Phil.*, IX, 2, 4.

[6] I omit discussion of the temple of Vesta, the Curia Hostilia, the Carcer, the Fons Juturnae, the Lacus Curtius and the Sacellum of Venus Cloacina: the first two, because there is no evidence available by which to test tradition, the others, because their walls were underground or too low to be affected by fire.

[7] *Ad Cic. in senatu in toga candida*, frg. 19 (Müll., 6, 3, p. 265; Clark, 80 f., p. 90).

[8] IV, 29, 7.

[9] VII, 20, 9.

[10] Delb., p. 4, thinks the " aedes Apollinis Medici " (Liv., XL, 51, 6) was so unimportant as to be ignored or forgotten by Asconius. Cf. p. 3 for " Apollo Sosianus ".

[11] *Op. cit.*

[12] Delbrück, p. 9, says " über 1.50 m. stark ". In one cavity, however, the brown block of the innermost facing appears, and since the blocks are about 80 cm. long, the thickness of the wall can be estimated.

temples of Saturn and Castor, faced on both sides by blocks of reddish-brown tufa of the same size as the *cappellaccio* blocks of the core. The *cappellaccio* blocks are evidently the remains of the first building of 431 B. C. These remains were probably sufficient in extent so that the small sized block was retained as a unit in the restoration instead of the larger size which prevailed during the fourth century [1]. The work of restoration may have extended over some years so that the whole building was not ready for dedication until 353 B. C. At any rate, the remains support the tradition of its restoration at that date and it is possible that this restoration was made necessary by the devastation of 387.

Although the excavations [2] on the Palatine in 1907 can not be said to have contributed anything very definite to our present study, it is of interest to note that they brought to light architectural terracottas of the 6th, 4th and 2nd centuries [3]. These evidently belonged to a building or group of buildings which stood between the site attributed to the temple of Magna Mater and the " Domus Liviae ", some remains of which may be among the ruins excavated by Vaglieri [4]. Graffunder would connect them with the temple of Victoria which he would locate here [5] in the light of Dion. Hal., I, 32, 5, who, after mentioning the Lupercal, says, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ λόφου τὸ τῆς Νίκης τέμενος ἐξελόντες θυσίας καὶ ταύτῃ κατεστήσαντο διετησίους, ἃς καὶ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔθυον. Huelsen [6], on the other hand, suggests that the ruins may in part belong to substructures of the *Aedes Romuli* and the fifth Sacrarium of the Argei. At any rate, it is possible that the 4th century terracottas point to a restoration which was necessitated by the devastation of the Gauls.

This concludes the survey of the structures of Rome built before 387 B. C. whose extant remains offer a means for testing tradition. There are, however, several temples for whose survival at that date there is other evidence.

The temple of Dius Fidius Semo Sancus on the Quirinal, was dedicated June 5, 466 B. C. and stood until the second century A. D. without any recorded restoration [7]. The inception of this building was ascribed to Tarquinius Superbus and very naturally, because of this connection, the statue and relics of Tanaquil [8] were preserved here as well as the treaty with Gabii concluded by that king. It was seen here by Dionysius [9], who says, τούτων ἐστὶ τῶν ὁρκίων μνημεῖον ἐν Ῥώμῃ κείμενον ἐν ἱερῷ Διὸς Πιστίου..... ἀσπὶς ξυλίνη βύρσῃ βοείᾳ περίτονος τοῦ σφαγιασθέντος ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρκίων τότε βοός, γράμμασιν

[1] Van Deman, pp. 242-3.
[2] Reported in *N. S.*, 1907, pp. 185, 264, 444, 529.
[3] Vaglieri, *N. S.*, 1907, p. 454; E. Douglas Van Buren, *J. R. S.*, 1914, p. 184.
[4] Vaglieri, p. 270; Graffunder, Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Rom*, p. 1015.
[5] Cf. Richter, *Topog.*², pp. 135 f.
[6] Jordan-Huelsen, *Topog.*, I, iii, p. 42 and note.
[7] Dion. Hal., IX, 60; Ovid, *Fast.*, VI, 213 f.; *C. I. L.*, I², p. 319; VI, 568.
[8] Plin., *N. H.*, VIII, 194; Fest., M., pp. 238-241.
[9] IV, 58; cf. Hor., *Ep.*, II, 1, 25.

ἀρχαϊκοῖς ἐπιγεγραμμένη τὰς γενομένας αὐτοῖς ὁμολογίας. The preservation of this treaty seems good evidence for the survival of the building since it was probably always kept here for the reason mentioned above, and because of the nature of the divinity, – a god of oaths, treaties etc. [1]. It also seems very unlikely that this treaty would have been restored if destroyed in 387, since Gabii was now too dependent upon Rome to be reminded of her former status [2]. Accordingly it seems safe to suppose that the treaty and the temple both survived.

There are several documents which prove that the Aventine temple of Diana escaped destruction. Its foundation was ascribed to Servius Tullius who made it a joint sanctuary for Latins and Romans on the model of the sanctuary of Artemis of Ephesus [3]. The treaty of alliance then concluded between Romans and Latins was inscribed on a bronze pillar which survived to the time of Dionysius. His words (IV, 26), αὕτη διέμεινεν ἡ στήλη μέχρι τῆς ἐμῆς ἡλικίας ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ, would lead us to believe that the temple had been spared from fire. Dionysius [4] also saw here the Icilian law which was passed in 456 B. C. and inscribed on a bronze pillar in this temple. In addition there was a *lex araе Dianae in Aventino,* a regulation originating with the dedication of the sanctuary which served as a model for temple regulations even in imperial times [5].

Another very important sanctuary in this vicinity was that of Ceres. Her cult was introduced into Rome from Magna Graecia, at the time when a shortage in the food supply caused the beginning of a large importation of grain from Cumae and Sicily [6]. It was the oldest Greek cult in Rome. The priestesses were Greek and the cult language Greek [7], and the temple, dedicated in 493 B. C. [8], was built and decorated in the Greek style [9]. Pliny [10] mentions two artists who were entrusted with its decoration. He says, *Plastae laudatissimi fuere Damophilus et Gorgasus, idem pictores, qui Cereris aedem Romae ad Circum Maximum utroque genere artis suae excoluerant versibus inscriptis Graece quibus significarent ab dextra opera Damophili esse, ab laeva, Gorgasi.* This is all we know of these two artists, but from the foregoing it seems very probable that they were the decorators of the Ceres temple at the time of its erection, and this is the view generally accepted [11]. If the hypothesis is correct, these decorations serve as a proof of the survival of the temple until the restoration of 31-27 B. C. [12] when they were cut out

[1] Roscher, s. v. *Sancus,* col. 319.

[2] Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Gabii,* col. 421.

[3] Varro, *L. L.*, V, 43; Liv., I, 45; Dion. Hal., IV, 25, 4; 26.

[4] X, 32.

[5] Fest., M., p. 165 b, 26; *C. I. L.*, III, 1933; XI, 361; XII, 4333. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Diana,* col. 333; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult.*², pp. 130 f., 280.

[6] Liv., II, 34, 3; Wissowa in Pauly-Wissowa, *Ceres,* col. 1973.

[7] Liv., II, 34, 3; Cic., *pro Balb.*, 55; articles on *Ceres,* in Pauly-Wissowa (col. 1973) and in Roscher (col. 862).

[8] Dion. Hal., VI, 94; Tac., *Ann.*, II, 49.

[9] Plin., XXXV, 154; Vitr., III, 3, 5.

[10] *Loc. cit.*

[11] Walters, *Hist. Anc. Pott.*, II, p. 372; Perrot et Chipiez, VIII, p. 506; Brunn, *Gesch. der Gr. Künst.*, I², p. 370 etc.

[12] Dio Cass., L, 10; Tac., *loc. cit.*

and framed – perhaps another indication of their archaic character. A rather doubtful piece of additional evidence is the bronze statue of Ceres which Pliny and Livy declare was made from the confiscated property of Sp. Cassius, the inscription on which Livy quotes [1]. It also seem likely that any restoration of this temple could scarcely escape record since it served as a storehouse for *senatus consulta* after 449 B. C. [2].

The temple of Juno on the Aventine was built by Camillus in 392 B. C. to house a wooden image, ξόανον, of the goddess brought from Veii on its destruction [3]. We have no definite record of how long this image was preserved but it is evident that it survived the catastrophe of 387 B. C. since Livy [4] has Camillus, after the departure of the Gauls, use its presence in Rome as an argument against the Romans abandoning their city and moving to Veii. This may be an indication of the survival of the temple for which there is no record of a restoration until the time of Augustus [5].

In considering the extent of the devastation of the city, it seems worth while to take into account certain statues which Pliny believed belonged to the pre-Gallic period. Here, there is no doubt of the later existence of the statues but only of their age. The antiquity of some of these seems reasonably certain, of others, doubtful, to a greater or less degree.

In the first class belong the statues of the ambassadors to Fidenae which Pliny says were among the oldest in Rome. There is no reason to doubt that these were actually erected in 438 B. C., when the ambassadors were killed [6]. The statues survived until Cicero's day when they held the place of honor on the Rostra [7]. Equally probable is the antiquity of the statue of L. Minucius which was set up in 439 B. C. outside the Porta Trigemina [8]. Coins [9] struck by C. Minucius Augurinus show that the statue was still standing in 129 B. C. The coins picture a statue surmounting an Ionic column which appears as though it were made of drums of soft stone, badly weathered. The antiquity of the statue of Horatius Cocles erected in the Comitium [10] in recognition of his valor in 508 B. C. is assured by a passage in Gellius (IV, 5, 6). Gellius gives a long account of the summoning of *aruspices* from Etruria at the time when the statue was struck by lightning. He concludes, *ea historia de aruspicibus.... est in annalibus maximis, libro*

[1] Plin., XXXIV, 15; Liv., II, 41, 10; cf. Dion. Hal., VIII, 79.

[2] See above.

[3] Liv., V, 22; 31; Dion. Hal., XIII, 3; Plut., *Cam.*, 6; Val. Max., I, 8, 3.

[4] V, 52, 10.

[5] There is no evidence of the destruction or survival in 387 B. C. of the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium or of the temple or temples of Fors Fortuna on the Via Portuensis, the foundation of all of which was ascribed to Servius Tullius.

[6] Plin., XXXIV, 23; Liv., IV, 17, 6.

[7] Cic., *Phil.*, IX, 2, 4.

[8] A statue only is mentioned in Plin., XVIII, 15; Dion. Hal., XII, 4; a column only, in Plin., XXXIV, 21; Liv., IV, 16, 2, mentions a *bos auratus;* cf. Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.*, II, p. 203 and note.

[9] Hill, *Hist. Rom. Coins,* Pl. X, 33; Macdonald, *Coin Types,* Pl. VII, 5.

[10] So Liv., II, 10, 12; Dion. Hal., V, 25; cf. Gellius, *loc. cit.* Later moved to the Volcanal, Gellius, IV, 5, 4 and Plut., *Publ.*, 16.

undecimo, et in Verri Flacci libro primo rerum memoria dignarum. Cichorius [1] has shown that this passage as it stands must have been taken from Verrius Flaccus and that no more than the first few sentences could have stood in the *Annales.* These read, *statua Romae in Comitio posita Horati Coclitis de caelo tacta est. ob id fulgur piaculis luendum aruspices ex Etruria acciti.* Now it is probable that the 11th book, of the 80 books of the *Annales,* recorded events at least as early as the beginning of the 4th century, when the statue had evidently been standing some time. Accordingly it seems safe to conclude that the statue, which was still in existence in Pliny's [2] day, may be regarded as a pre-Gallic survival [3].

This concludes the evidence available for determining the extent of the Gallic fire in 387 B. C. It points to the survival of the temples of Saturn, Castor, Dius Fidius, Diana, Ceres and perhaps of Juno. On the other hand, there are indications that the Regia, the temple of Apollo, the Rostra and perhaps a temple on the Palatine, were destroyed. It can not be shown that any one section of the city was entirely laid waste, or was entirely untouched. It is significant, however, that, if we disregard the doubtful evidence of the Palatine terracottas, the only temple which seems to have perished is that of Apollo. Yet in this case, we can not feel entirely sure that the restoration of 353 B. C. should be connected with the fire of 387 B. C., though the temple's proximity to the Capitoline makes it probable. This regard for temples, on the part of the Gauls, is entirely in keeping with their characteristic religiosity which reveals itself in their adopting oriental cults in Asia Minor and Druidism in Britain. Indeed it is a trait that we expect to find in any people passing out of barbarism. Wissowa [4] has pointed out, in a recent article, the scrupulous care taken by Rome to incorporate the local cults of subjected municipalities into the *sacra publica p. R. Q.* Recent excavations at Veii show that there too the temples continued to be seats of worship from the earliest time until the Augustan age, apparently without destruction. If this was a generally recognized practice of the times, it would explain the use of the temples of the city as store chambers for its valuables.

By applying these results to the question of the destruction of the city archives, it becomes clear that probably almost all of the international documents deposited on the

[1] Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Annales,* col. 2252; cf. Münzer, Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Horatius Cocles,* col. 2334.

[2] Plin., XXXIV, 22.

[3] The age of the other statues mentioned by Pliny, is doubtful. Münzer (Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Hermodorus,* col. 860 f.) has shown that there is no evidence for the date of that of Hermodorus (Plin., XXXIV, 21). He would identify the equestrian statue of a woman called " Cloelia ", the hostage of Porsenna or " Valeria ", daughter of Publicola, as " Venus Equestris ", identical with " Venus Cluila " or " Cloacina " (see Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. *Cloelia*). Equally doubtful are the statues of Attus Navius, of the Sibyls and of Hercules, ascribed by Pliny (XXXIV, 21, 22; XXXV, 157) to the age of Tarquin.

[4] *Die Römischen Staatspriestertümer Altlatinischer Gemeindekulte, Hermes,* 1915, pp. 4-5, 20-21, 31.

Capitoline and in the other temples, escaped destruction. Of the other records, the *leges* in the temple of Saturn probably survived, as well as the *senatus consulta,* even if they were still filed in the temple of Ceres. In this connection, the large number of early *leges* and *senatus consulta* known, is of interest [1]. The pontifical records, on the contrary, and the Laws of the Twelve Tables apparently perished. The former could very conceivably have been restored from memory, with a fair degree of accuracy, for the forty or fifty years immediately preceding. If the Laws of the Twelve Tables were memorized by school children in Cicero's day, their accurate restoration after the invasion would have been a simple matter.

---

[1] See BOTSFORD, *The Roman Assemblies,* pp. 175, 196, 232-4, 237-8, 240, 253, 269, 273-80, 287, 292-5, 305, 414, 473-4, 486, 493, 495; cf. DAREMBERG-SAGLIO, s. v. *Lex,* pp. 1126 ff.

STUDIES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE FORUM AT POMPEII.

ALBERT WILLIAM VAN BUREN.

(PLATES 23—25)

AFTER more than a century and a half of investigation of the ruins of Pompeii, there still remains much to be done, both in excavation and in the interpretation of what has been excavated. The state of knowledge which had been reached ten years ago was admirably summarised by the late Professor August Mau. Since the appearance of the last edition of his work [1] there has begun a new era, characterised by Spinazzola's systematic and capable excavation of the eastern part of the Strada dell' Abbondanza [2], Della Corte's thorough study of the widely scattered information concerning the inhabitants of the various houses [3], and Spano's illuminating interpretation of the architectural and artistic remains in the light of the social and aesthetic traditions of the Hellenistic Orient [4]. Although the artistic quality of the objects from this site, at least in the Roman period and with some exceptions, is hardly more than mediocre, still the life of this provincial Campanian city had so many ramifications, extending to all parts of the eastern Mediterranean, to all periods of earlier history, and to all aspects and phases of human society and the human individual, that one may constantly return there and as constantly find something new.

[1] A. MAU, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*, 2d ed., Leipzig, 1908. In a conversation which took place only a few weeks before his death in 1909, Professor Mau called my attention to the fact that this edition, for which the type was entirely reset, represents a thorough revision of the text in accordance with his reconsidered judgments.

[2] *N. S.*, 1911 ff., *passim*.

[3] M. DELLA CORTE, *Case ed Abitanti a Pompei, ricerche di epigrafia*, in *Neapolis*, II, 1914, pp. 153-201, 305-340, Pl. X, XI; and *Sui monumenti scoperti fuori la Porta del Vesuvio: brevi note di Epigrafia Pompeiana*, in *Memorie della R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti* (Naples), II, 1912, pp. 177-200, Plate. His results are not in all cases final, and future excavations may be expected to furnish the key to many problems which at present admit only of conjectural solution.

[4] G. SPANO, *Il Teatro delle fontane in Pompei*, in *Memorie della R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti* (Naples), II, 1912, pp. 111-148, Pl. I-IV; *id.*, *L'origine degli archi onorari e trionfali romani* in *Neapolis*, I, 1913, pp. 144-164. I am indebted to Dr. Spano himself for further information as to his researches in this field.

The following notes on the antiquities of the Forum are believed to possess a certain value in part as correcting traditional statements about well-known monuments and in part as calling attention to matters of interest which have long passed unobserved.

I. THE GREAT CULT STATUE OF JUPITER.

Ab Iove principium: it will be well to begin with the consideration of the great acrolithic cult statue of Jupiter. The front part of the marble torso of this statue was discovered in 1817 among the ruins of the Capitolium [1] (M in plan, Fig. 1, p. 71), and is now in the Naples Museum [2]; at the same time was found the marble head [3] of the acrolithic statue of either Juno or Minerva from the same group. The courtesy of Commendatore V. Spinazzola, Director of that Museum, enables me to publish, I believe for the first time, these two fragments, which are of exceptional importance and rarity both as specimens of this technique and as survivors of what must once have constituted a numerous class, the colossal cult statues of the Graeco-Roman world (Pl. 23). Contemporary reports of the excavations [4] mention other portions of colossal statues as found at the same time and place; the later vicissitudes of these are not known to me.

[1] For the Capitolium, see MAU, *Pompeji*, 2d ed., pp. 59-65, and his fuller discussion, *Das Capitolium und der Tempel des Zeus Meilichios in Pompeji*, in *Röm. Mitth.*, XI, 1896, pp. 141-149, with the *résumé* by Audollent in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, XXXVII, 1898, pp. 70 f.

[2] Inventory No. 6260; *Guida Rüsch*, No. 941.

[3] Naples Museum, inv. No. 6264; *Guida Rüsch*, No. 942.

[4] The unusual character of these finds necessitates my quoting the contemporary records at some length. The official report of the discoveries was printed by Fiorelli, in *Pompeianarum Antiquitatum Historia*, I, ii, pp. 188-191; the important passages for the present purpose are as follows:

(Under date of 11. Jan. 1817). *Il disterro dell' interno del tempio scoperto nel gran Foro, per la giornata di domani sarà intieramente terminato..... Il pensiero del sig. cav. Arditi, che un giorno dovran trovarsi nel detto Foro delle statue, par che cominci a darne degl'indizi. Nella cella del nominato tempio, il giorno di sabato scorso, si sono rinvenuti due grandi piedi, ed un braccio colla mano destra staccata di grandezza ad essi corrispondente. I piedi sono ciascuno pal. 2 3/4 di lunghezza, rivestiti di sandali imperiali, e la mano stringe uno scettro, o pure un manubrio di qualche arma, cosicchè sembrano appartenere ad una statua colossale imperiale, di altezza circa pal. 19. La scoltura di tai frammenti è ottima, e di un carattere robusto per le sue grandiose e benintese parti..... Inoltre nel giorno di ieri lunedì sonosi ivi ancor trovati due altri frammenti di piedi, dei quali uno è semicolossale, dal metacarpo sino a tutte le dita, di uno stile delicato ed elegante, e l'altro di grandezza al naturale della metà sino a tutto il calcagno, anche di buona scoltura. Si sono già date tutte le disposizioni, onde, terminato l'intiero sterro del tempio, s'incominci a togliere da esso tutti quei pezzi informi, che imbarazzano il luogo, e far rimanere gli altri che appartengono all'edificio, per indi poterli riordinare per quanto sia possibile.*

(16. Jan.). *Il portico del cennato tempio è stato intieramente disterrato, e si è già trovata l'apertura che immetteva nella cella, la quale si sta ora, come si è detto di sopra, con molta attività disterrando; e si comincia altresì a scoprire il muro del suo lato destro, giacchè il sinistro trovasi del tutto sgombrato.*

(18. Jan.). *Lo sterro della cella del tempio esastilo nel Foro è in buono stato, e forse nell'entrante settimana sarà interamente disotterrata..... Dippiù si sono rinvenuti alcuni frammenti di marmo bianco appartenenti ad una statua colossale, cioè due piedi con zoccoli, la di cui pianta è di lunghezza pal. 2 3/4. Un braccio, ed una mana* (sic) *distaccata con scettro.*

(21. Jan.). *Ieri 20 del corrente, circa le ore 10 di Francia, fra le rovine della cella del noto tempio si rinvenne una metà di piede di marmo semicolossale, una parte di mano, e due porzioni di dita simili. Al giorno*

The torso is of Greek marble, and the divinity was represented in a sitting posture. The plate (Pl. 23) on which the two fragments in the Naples Museum are represented will relieve me from the necessity of discussing further those aspects of both which appear in the illustrations; it is however the back surface of the surviving portion of the torso of Jupiter which I wish to discuss here, as previous descriptions, beginning with the official report of the excavations, are erroneous. On the back surface is a relief, now consisting of the greater part of two figures. It has been assumed that this relief is due to a re-working of the block of marble after the statue had undergone damage, presumably in the earthquake of the year 63 A. D.; and scholars have spoken of a marble-worker's shop as having been installed in the cella of the temple in the period immediately preceding the eruption of 79 [1]. This explanation of the relief is due however to incorrect observation on the part of the first scholars who referred to it and uncritical copying on the part of their successors. The relief on the back antedates the use of this marble

poi, verso le ore 23 d'Italia si rinvenne un busto colossale di marmo, senza testa, di altezza pal. 5 1/2, e di larghezza pal. 3 1/4, nella di cui parte di avanti rappresenta la figura di uomo, e nella parte di dietro vedesi abbozzata rusticamente una statua intera; dal che si congettura esser questo un pezzo di colosso inservibile, che gli antichi ne profittavano per altra statua piccola. Questa mattina nello stesso sito si è trovata una testa di alabastro, anche colossale, di un Giove, di un bellissimo carattere [doubtless the well-known bust, inv. No. 6266, *Guida Rüsch*, No. 939, MAU, *Pompeii*, ed. 2, Fig. 25], *e con vari frammenti ad essa appartenenti. Di marmo: Una maschera colossale; una testa di donna di fattura naturale, di bel carattere; una piccola testa di uomo, e diversi frammenti di mano, braccia, teste e toghe.*

(25. Jan.). *Essendosi il giorno 21 terminato lo sterro della cella del tempio nel Foro,.....*

(8. Feb.). *Si rimettono al sig. cav. Arditi le tre teste di marmo* [it is not clear which are meant, as in the meantime there had been discoveries of similar objects in the Macellum], *con i frammenti che ad esse appartengono, assieme colla base ov'è incisa l'iscrizione* [found in the cella of the Capitolium].

ANDREA DE JORIO, *Guida di Pompei con appendici sulle parti più interessanti, trasportata dal francese nell'italiano idioma da Ercole Carrillo*, Naples, 1836 [being a revised edition of his *Plan de Pompéi, et remarques sur les édifices*, Naples 1828], pp. 63-65:

Tempio di Giove. — *Tra gli oggetti rinvenuti nel suo scavo fa mestieri distinguere quelli che trovaronsi nel grande spazio al di sotto ed allo intorno di esso.*

Ecco fra questi i più interessanti situati sul pronao, *nella cella, e nei tre gabinetti inferiori al* podium *di questo stesso Santuario.*

*Varie dita di bronzo, un picciol busto fisso al muro, una specie di scudo di quattro once e mezzo, moltissimi frammenti di ornati che sembrano essere appartenuti a delle cancellette forse di legname, un gruppo di un mezzo palmo di altezza, rappresentante un vecchio che tiene un ragazzo per la mano, ed una donna che porta il suo figluolino fralle braccia. Tanto sulla testa del vecchio che del giovinetto si vede il cappello frigio: questo gruppo probabilmente era un'*ex-voto.

In marmo un mezzo piede, la porzione di una mano, e di un dito, una testa senile; due piedi rivestiti di sandali, un braccio, e molti frammenti tutti di colossale proporzione. Un torso di siffatta proporzione e di ottimo lavoro, sul dorso del quale si vede abbozzata intieramente una statua. Altri frammenti di una statua, e di paneggio, una figura di donna di grandezza naturale.....

Una testa colossale di marmo rappresentante Giove.....

Intorno all' edificio eranvi sparsi altri frammenti di una statua di marmo.....

Il sotterraneo..... conteneva..... una mano colossale che chiudeva delle spighe dorate.

Da quanto stiamo dicendo, sembra potersi conchiudere che il tremoto del 63 grandemente avea danneggiato questo tempio, e che la esiziale eruzione del 79 sopreggiunse all'epoca della sua restaurazione. Di già più frammenti di marmo erano stati raccolti per ristabilire l'edifizio, o per altri usi; e forse per questa ragione fu anche chiamato tesoro pubblico; ma gli oggetti rinvenutivi furono simili a quelli scavati nel Tempio di Serapide in Pozzuoli..... A consolidare questa verità può riflettersi, che il riferito torso era stato dall'artista destinato qual masso di marmo per scolpirne una statua di picciola proporzione, e che si rinvenne già appena sbozzata.

It is clear from the above accounts that the excavators of 1817 found remains of not only the marble extremities but also the bronze drapery and accessories of several colossal acrolithic statues.

[1] Cf. MAU, *Pompeji*, 2d ed., p. 59.

block for the acrolithic statue. It was in part destroyed and in part roughened with strokes of the pick to admit of its being adapted to its new destination; for it was held in place by means both of mortising and of setting it in mortar. That this is what actually took place is shown by the following facts:

1. The surface of the front is intact, with its final polish preserved.
2. At the right side of the front, a supplementary piece of marble is still in position.
3. On the back, the upper part of the left figure (as seen by the spectator) was systematically cut down to admit of mortising.
4. This figure was partly off the block as it now exists.

What we have then is a marble relief, presumably of Greek workmanship, which was cut down and used for a second time by the makers of the Pompeian cult-statue. The fragmentary character of the sculptural remains found by the excavators of the Capitolium is to be explained by the assumption not of a stone-worker's shop but of a visit to the site by some of the survivors of the great catastrophe of 79 for the purpose of carrying away the metallic portions of the statues, and the disintegration of those parts which were made of wood [1].

In its present position, it is impossible properly to study the back of the fragment, and I refrain from attempting a description of the subject represented. It is to be recommended however that the Museum authorities move the torso to a position where it can be studied from all angles, and also arrange for a photograph to be taken of it from the back.

II. THE GREAT INSCRIPTION ON THE PAVEMENT OF THE FORUM.

It is well known that the Forum of Pompeii was paved, about the beginning of the first century A. D., with large blocks of limestone, well laid, and that at present, while considerable portions of this pavement are preserved at the north and south ends, the open space in the centre has been denuded except for a few isolated blocks [2]. This pavement antedates the original construction of the limestone portico, which was in process of construction in 63 A. D. and had been begun or at least was contemplated under Tiberius [3]; it is earlier than the bases of equestrian statues along the west side of the Forum, since these were constructed upon it; and it is earlier than some, but later than

[1] On acrolithic technique, see W. Amelung, *Athena des Phidias*, in *Oest. Jahreshefte*, XI, 1908, pp. 169-211, esp. pp. 182 f.

On the exploitation of the ruins of Pompeii by the survivors, see A. Sogliano, *La Rinascita di Pompei*, in *Rendiconti d. Lincei*, ser. V, XXIV, 1915, pp. 483-514, esp. p. 507.

[2] This appears clearly in our Plate 24, where can be distinguished also the location of the letter to which reference is made in the text.

[3] A. Mau, *Il portico del Foro di Pompei*, in *Röm. Mitth.*, VI, 1891, pp. 168-176; *Pompeji*, 2d ed., pp. 43-51.

others, of the bases of equestrian statues along the north and south ends of the Forum [1]. The reason for the disappearance of most of the central portion of this fine pavement is to be sought in the activity of the survivors after the eruption of 79: the Forum, like the Amphitheatre and the great theatre [2], could easily be found, and it furnished too valuable a quarry of building materials to be left unworked.

It has not been recognised however that this pavement contained a great inscription, in letters of bronze set into the limestone blocks, and running from the west to the east side of the Forum. Of this monumental inscription there survives in position only the cutting for the first letter, a Q, in a block of the pavement immediately to the East of the very large oblong statue base which is situated at about the middle of the west side of the Forum (see plan Fig. 1) [3]. This one letter, given its character and position, is ample evidence for the former existence of the whole inscription: similar pavements containing similar inscriptions have been preserved in at least three instances [4].

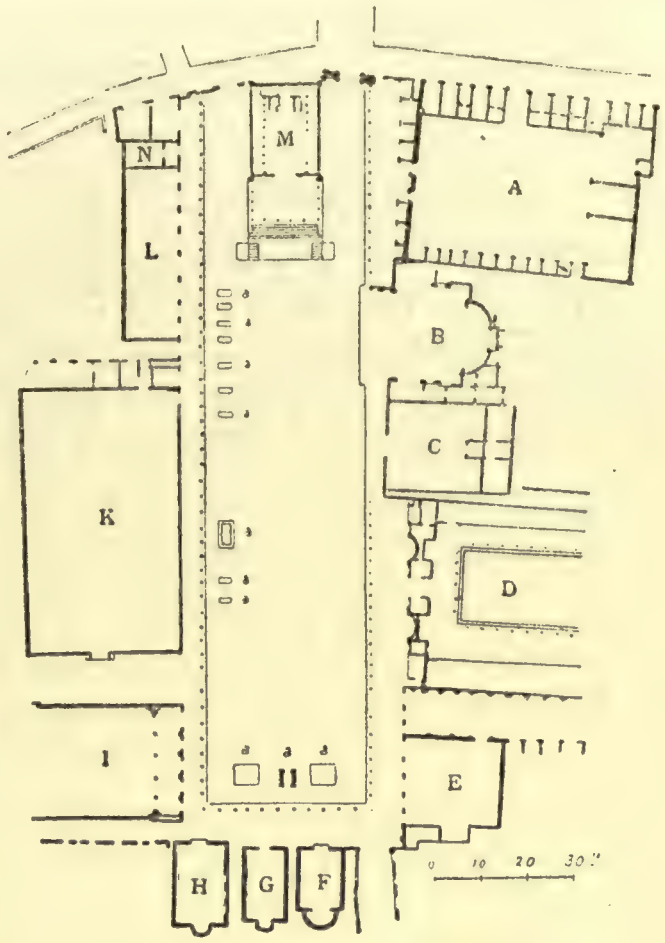


Fig. 1. The Forum at Pompeii.

[1] A. Mau, *Die Statuen des Forums von Pompeji*, in *Röm. Mitth.*, XI, 1896, pp. 150-156, esp. p. 151; *Pompeji*, 2d ed., pp. 44 f.

[2] Cf. Nissen, *Pompejanische Studien*, pp. 105 f., 245 f.

[3] The lower part of a similar letter, an L, exists in a block of limestone apparently relaid in antiquity or in modern times, in the open space of the Forum to the west of the north end of the portico in front of the building of Eumachia.

[4] 1. In the Roman Forum: Hülsen-Carter, *The Roman Forum*, 2d ed., pp. 148 f.; O. Richter, *Beiträge zur Römischen Topographie*, IV (1910): *Untergrund und Pflaster des Römischen Forums*, pp. 28 ff. The definitive treatment of the pavement of the Roman Forum is still to appear.

2. In the main Forum at Tarracina: *C. I. L.*, X, 6306, with the discussion in R. de la Blanchère, *Terracine*, Paris, 1884 (vol. 34 of *Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises*), pp. 122-132. Professor Frothingham's account of this pavement, in his popular book *Roman Cities in Northern Italy and Dalmatia* (London, 1910), contains an unfortunate *lapsus memoriae:* he quotes not the inscription actually upon the stones but a Pompeian inscription, *C. I. L.*, X, 807. The *A. Aemilius* whose name appears on the pavement at Tarracina was not the architect, but the benefactor, as is shown by another inscription, *C. I. L.*, X, 6305.

3. In a secondary Forum in the lower town at Tarracina: *Eph. Epigr.*, VIII, p. 156, no. 635, after F. Lombardini, in *N. S.*, 1886, p. 277, and de la Blanchère in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, VII, 1887, pp. 414-418, in which latter place one more letter is recorded. Here, by great good fortune, the bronze letters themselves are preserved, not merely their matrices.

III. THE ARCH AT THE SOUTH END OF THE FORUM.

The centre of the south end of the Forum is occupied by a large rectangular arched structure of masonry (see plan Fig. 1), faced with *opus incertum* and tiles (see Pl. 25, Fig. 4) [1]. It lies in the axis of the Capitolium and of the Forum. Mau [2] proposed the conjecture that this is a base which once supported a statue of Augustus, and he made use of this conjecture in connection with an elaborate theory as to the identification of the various statues which once stood on the bases in the Forum. He assumes a colossal bronze standing statue as best meeting the conditions of proportion and stability.

The Augustan date of the structure in question may be accepted as tolerably certain, by reason both of its peculiarities of construction and of its relation to earlier and later monuments. A careful perusal however of Mau's writings will reveal the inadequacy of the arguments (it is not a question of evidence) for considering this the base of a colossal statue of Augustus. Moreover, there are serious difficulties inherent in this theory.

In the first place must be advanced an objection on the score of historical improbability. A glance at our Plate 25, Fig. 4 will show that if there ever was a standing statue on the arched structure in question, the statue was a colossus so huge as absolutely to dominate the Forum, and more than challenge comparison with the cult statue of Jupiter in the Capitoline temple facing [3]. It is inconceivable that Augustus would have permitted, or that Tiberius would have tolerated, the erection of such a statue in Italy during their reigns: it was reserved for Nero and Domitian to assimilate themselves to divinity in so outspoken a fashion.

There is also the difficulty inherent in the fact that the structure which we are discussing possesses, not the usual form of a statue base, colossal or otherwise, but rather that of one type of *ianus:* the square form, which might be placed not across a street but in a forum [4].

I have no hesitation in proposing to identify the arched structure as simply the *ianus*

[1] Cf. CURTIS, in *Suppl. Papers Am. School of Cl. St. in Rome,* II, 1908, p. 45, note 1.

[2] *Röm. Mitth.*, XI, 1896, pp. 153 f.

[3] For a similar reason, I prefer to imagine, not a standing figure but a quadriga, on the large square base to the East, although as this dates from about the reign of Nero the objection is not so cogent.

[4] On the *ianus,* see J. TOUTAIN, in DAREMBERG et SAGLIO, *Dict. d. Ant., s. v.* It must be admitted that the actual evidence for this signification of the *ianus* in Roman colonies is distinctly slighter than that for the *Capitolium.* The two types of *ianus* have not been hitherto distinguished, I believe, with sufficient clearness. The resemblance of our monument to an arch rather than a base has naturally been felt by earlier writers, e. g. Fiorelli and Thédenat.

The *Capitolium* and *ianus* which distinguished the Forum of the Roman *coloniae* differed in their signification from the statue of Marsias which is never found in Italy outside Rome; on the latter, see C. JULLIAN, in DAREMBERG et SAGLIO, *Dict. d. Ant. s. v. Jus Italicum,* and A. J. REINACH, *A propos du Marsias du Forum,* in *Rev. Epigraphique,* II, 1914, 325-327.

of Pompeii, and to associate its erection in its present form with some renewal or extension of the privileges of the city under the early Empire.

IV. THE CURIA.

(Pl. 25, Fig. 1-3).

The central one of the three halls at the south end of the Forum, which was unfinished at the time of the eruption (G in plan Fig. 1), has been traditionally identified, by conjecture but with great probability, as the Curia [1]. A detail of its construction may be adduced as confirming this identification and at the same time illustrating a passage in Vitruvius. Along the two sides exist what apparently wers to have been the bases of small columns set against the walls [2]. (See Pl. 25, Fig. 2). The columns would presumably have carried cornices breaking the flat surface of the walls, and these in turn would have supported an upper order. This arrangement is in accordance with the precept of Vitruvius for the construction of a *curia* (V, ii): *Aerarium, carcer, curia foro sunt coniungenda, sed ita uti magnitudo (ac) symmetriae eorum foro respondeant. maxime quidem curia in primis est facienda ad dignitatem municipii sive civitatis..... praeterea praecingendi sunt parietes medii coronis ex intestino opere aut albario ad dimidiam partem altitudinis. quae si non erunt, vox ibi disputantium elata in altitudinem intellectui non poterit esse audientibus. cum autem coronis praecincti parietes erunt, vox ab imis morata, priusquam in aera elata dissipabitur, auribus erit intellecta.*

V. THE SCHOOL BUILDING.

Near the north end of the west side of the Forum there opens off from the portico a spacious hall (L in plan, Fig. 1) forming an integral part of the group which includes the public *latrina* adjoining and two small rooms on the Vico dei Soprastanti usually ex-

[1] A. Mau, *Pompeji*, 2d ed., 117-119; R. Cagnat et V. Chapot, *Manuel d'Archéologie romaine*, I, 120 f.

[2] The alternative suggestion that they are pedestals for statues appears excluded by their slight dimensions.

Somewhat similar projections occur in the recently discovered hall with the painted trophies on its entrance pilasters, on the Strada dell'Abbondanza, Reg. III, Ins. iii, No. 6 (V. Spinazzola, in *N. S.*, 1916, 429-450). These latter however are set at wider intervals, and have a greater breadth than depth; it is evident too from the vestiges in the wall that they served to support a wooden wardrobe, a portion of which is in fact represented by the cast which the excavators were able to make from the impression which it had left in the ashes. Our bases are different it character and in purpose.

plained as municipal treasury offices with treasure vaults beneath [1]. This group is built in the latest style of Pompeian construction, and was still awaiting its marble veneering or coat of stucco at the time of the eruption. The hall in question [2] measures roughly 120 × 36 feet, and has eight wide openings upon the colonnade, separated by pillars; otherwise its walls are unbroked except for a buttress on the back wall opposite the middle pillar; it was intended also to have two windows high up in the middle of each of the bays thus formed in the back wall; the side of the south window opening is preserved.

This hall of unusual plan has been explained either as a *stoa poikile* or as a market, and it has been suggested that grain or vegetables were sold there. The former of these two explanations is excluded by the consideration that the building is one of the few public edifices which were either begun or rebuilt from the ground after the earthquake of 63: it must therefore have been essential to the public utility, not a purely decorative structure. Its orientation, with eight wide openings facing somewhat north of east, unfits it for a grain or vegetable market [3]; while one would expect a hall for the sale of more valuable merchandise to be less exposed to the eyes and hands of the general public. And quite apart from this building Pompeii was well provided with markets and shops.

I propose its identification as a school building, for which its location and plan would seem to adapt it admirably. Owing to its easterly exposure, it would be the warmest building on the Forum in the late mornings of Winter. We know that school was held in the Forum, from a Pompeian painting now in the Naples Museum, one of the series representing the life of the Forum [4], in which such a school is shown in operation. In the period immediately preceding the eruption, that is to say while our school building was in course of erection, school was held, apparently as a temporary measure, in or near the edifice at the south–east corner of the Forum (E in plan), the

[1] Mau, *Pompeji*, 2d ed., 87-89. The vaults have also been called a prison; of A. Sogliano, in *N. S.*, 1900, 236-238; he concludes: *Lasciando da parte qualsiasi congettura sulla destinazione così dei locali superiori come di quelli inferiori, trovo che la relazione da qualcuno ammessa fra i due piani dell' edificio non esiste per nulla, essendo l'un piano del tutto indipendente dall'altro. Mancando il rapporto topografico, viene necessariamente a mancare qualunque altro rapporto.*

[2] It is visible in Pl. 24.

[3] Cf. Vitruvius, I, iv, 2: *Ideo etiam ea granaria, quae ad solis cursum spectant, bonitatem cito mutant, obsoniaque et poma, quae non in ea parte caeli ponuntur, quae est aversa a solis cursu, non diu servantur.* He has in mind a southern or western exposure as especially undesirable for granaries etc.; but a vegetable market with easterly exposure would be at an equal disadvantage, as the vegetables would generally be brought in to the city and sold there in the morning.

The identification as a grain market has been thought to find confirmation in the not far distant standard table of measures. But this dates in its original form from the Samnite period, and in its present adaptation from the earlier part of the reign of Augustus, and therefore has no connection with the structure under discussion; moreover, its purpose was not for use in connection with the actual transacting of business, but to serve for the standardizing of the merchants' measures.

[4] Inv. No. 9066; Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, No. 1592; *Guida Rüsch*, No. 1797.

peculiar arrangements of which appear best explained by the theory that it was the local *comitium* [1].

VI. THE CHANGES IN THE FORUM DUE TO THE ROMAN COLONISTS.

Before closing this article it is desirable to enter a word of caution with regard to the view held by some archaeologists as to the Pre-Roman Forum and the changes introduced in the plan by the Romans at the time that the colony was founded. As this theory involves a whole phase of the early history of Pompeii, it is necessary to quote it in some detail as it was developed by the late Abbé Thédenat [2]:

" Le Forum de Pompéi occupa toujours une partie de l'emplacement où le voyons aujourd'hui. Ce fut d'abord une simple place entre quatre rues. On peut encore reconnaître les limites de ce Forum primitif. La rue de l'Abondance et la rue della Marina, à ce temps-là, ne formaient qu'une seule voie qui, sans doute, était la limite septentrionale de la place. A l'ouest, le Forum était borné par une rue qui descend entre la basilique et le temple de Vénus; au sud, par la rue qui passe devant la maison de Championnet et les Curies; à l'est, par la rue delle Scuole. Ces rues n'ont pas dû changer car, parmi les maisons qui les bordent, il en est de très anciennes. A la fois marché et Forum, la place était plus longue que large; aussi, quand on construisit la basilique, c'est sur sa longueur qu'on prit le terrain nécessaire.

" Au II[e] siècle avant notre ère, un questeur de Pompéi, Vibius Popidius, fit régulariser la place et l'entoura d'un portique à deux étages.....

" Tel était l'état du Forum quand les Romains entrèrent à Pompéi. Ils y trouvèrent donc un forum grec. Pour qui connaît les usages des Romains, il est évident que le forum grec ne devait longtemps survivre à l'installation des colons envoyés par Sylla.....

" Aussitôt la colonie établie, les Romains s'occupèrent donc de transformer en forum romain le forum grec des Samnites. La grande place rectangulaire fut jalonnée au milieu des rues et des maisons qui recouvraient l'emplacement qu'on lui destina; on y fit entrer le Forum samnite; le lieu choisi pour élever le temple de Jupiter occupait l'extrémité opposée; de telle sorte que le forum romain ne fut qu'un prolongement vers le nord du forum grec ".

This theory, however attractive it may appear in the French *savant*'s presentation, nevertheless must be rejected: it is unnecessary, and it is at variance with the evidence. There is no need to assume any violent modification of the general plan of the Forum, in fact all the evidence points toward a fair degree of continuity. The colonnade of Popidius, which antedates the Roman colony, occupies all the South end and the southern part of the eastern side, and on the western side there are traces of it almost to the northern extremity. The discovery of remains of dwelling houses under the central space of the Basilica (I in plan Fig. 1) [3] shows that the earlier Forum did not extend much further to the West than the present one, at least in its southern portion; moreover

[1] MAU, *Pompeji*, 2[d] ed., 115 f. For the evidence as to the school which was installed here, and after which the " Strada delle Scuole " was named by the excavators, see MAZOIS et GAU, *Ruines de Pompéi*, III, pp. 58 f. (where the reference should be " p. 47 " instead of " p. 44 ").

[2] H. THÉDENAT, *Pompéi*, II, pp. 16-20, quoted in part, with approval, by R. CAGNAT et V. CHAPOT, *Manuel d'Archéol. rom.*, I, 113 f.

[3] A. SOGLIANO, in *Memorie d. R. Accad. di Archeol., Lett. e B. A.*, Naples, II, 1911, p. 120.

there is every inherent probability in favour of the commonly accepted opinion that the Strada della Marina and the Strada dell'Abbondanza represent what was once a continuous street serving in part as its southern boundary (*not* Northern). The essential outlines of the Forum do not appear to have suffered modification at the hands of the Romans, for if the Capitolium was built partly on land expropriated for the purpose this would hardly have affected the proportions of the Forum itself. It is clear that two buildings of the first century A. D. (B C in plan) blocked the approach which previously had existed by means of two streets: but it is not permissible to draw a further inference from this observation [1]. The other essential facts will be found in Mau's handbook. In the present state of knowledge one is forced to consider the Forum of Pompeii in its general lines as typical not of Rome but of the Hellenistic East [2].

These notes have been restricted to what may be termed matters of fact as contrasted with appreciation, and have been limited to the monuments of the Forum. They may serve to indicate the amount of work still to be done in interpreting the remains of Pompeii. To the Italian Government belong the preliminary operations of excavating the material, preserving it from destruction, and rendering it accessible to scholars; and to the care of the Italian authorities may properly be entrusted the preparation of what at present represents the most urgent *desideratum* in the whole field of Pompeian archaeology: a repertory of information as to all the discoveries, arranged systematically by street, house and room. But when this has been done there remains the further task of study, comparison, deduction, criticism and interpretation, to which all nations and all types of scholarly mind may hope to contribute. Not only the products of recent excavations, but the monuments which were unearthed a century ago, will yield rich return for our labours: it will often prove possible for the investigator of the present day to assign them their places in a broad historical context many of the elements in which were unknown to the archaeologists of former generations.

---

[1] In front of the Macellum (A in plan) there are apparently traces of an earlier colonnade than the marble one of the Empire: a series of small square lava column bases, their alignment being slightly at variance with that of the limestone step in front of them; and a portion of a tufa column, partly hacked away to allow for marble veneering; this latter however is perhaps not in its original position.

[2] Cf. G. Spano, in *Neapolis*, I, 1913, 346.

Fragments of Colossal Statues from Pompeii.

Fig. 1, Head of acrolithic statue. Naples Museum.

Fig. 2, Torso of statue of Jupiter. Naples Museum.

See pp. 68-70.

The Forum at Pompeii, from the South. (Alinari).

See pp. 67-76.

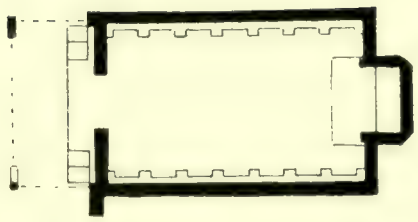


Fig. 1, The Curia at Pompeii : Plan.

Fig. 3, The Curia at Pompeii : Cross Section.

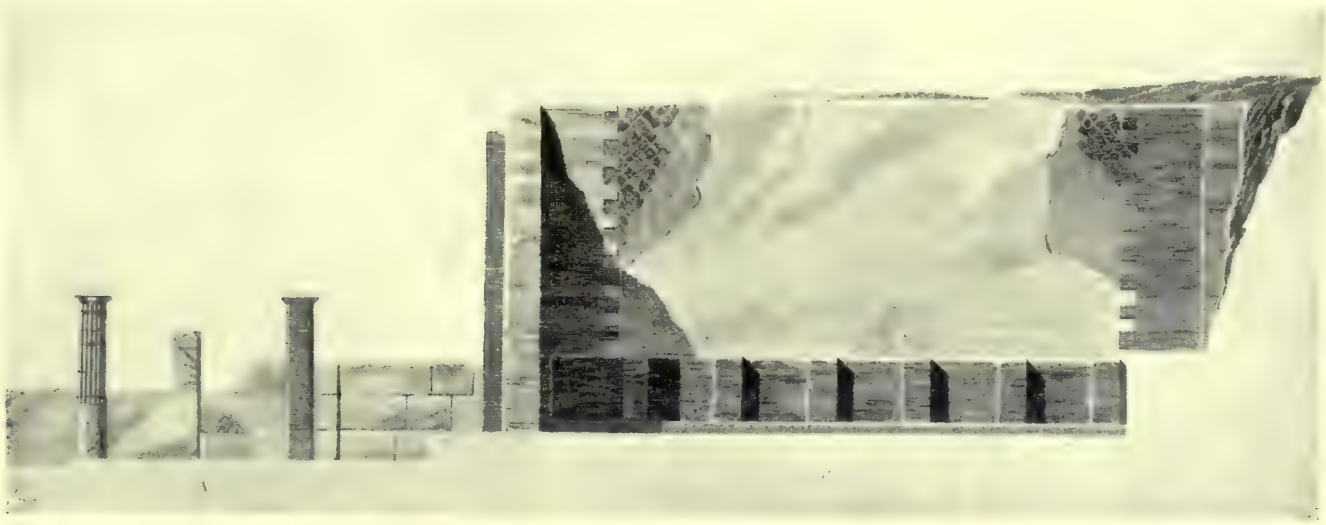


Fig. 2, The Curia at Pompeii: Longitudinal Section.

Fig. 4, The Forum at Pompeii, from the South, showing the *ianus*.

See pp. 67-76.

PIETRO CAVALLINI.

STANLEY LOTHROP.

(PLATES 26–70)

THE artistic personality of the Roman painter Pietro Cavallini is still but little appreciated except by a limited number of specialists, notwithstanding the fact that several studies [1] dealing with his work have appeared in Italy. Previous writers moreover have almost entirely neglected a series of paintings which are to be attributed to him or to some close follower, namely, the decoration in the Palazzo Pubblico in Perugia. For these reasons it has appeared desirable to me to present a systematic study of Cavallini's career.

Until the uncovering of the frescoes in the church of Sta. Cecilia in Rome in 1900, critics had accepted Giorgio Vasari's statement that Cavallini learned his art from Giotto, and they gave to that master the entire credit for Cavallini's improved technique and mastery of Classical form. With the discoveries in Sta. Cecilia however Cavallini has

[1] Bibliography: VASARI, ed. Milanesi, Firenze, 1906, I, pp. 537 ff.

J. VON SCHLOSSER, *Lorenzo Ghibertis Denkwürdigkeiten (I Commentarii)*, Berlin, 1912, II, pp. 134 ff.

G. NAVONE, *Di un musaico di Pietro Cavallini in S. Maria Transtiberina e degli Stefaneschi di Trastevere, Archiv. Soc. Rom. Stor. Patria*, 1877.

E. BERTAUX, *S. Maria di Donna Regina e l'arte senese a Napoli nel secolo XIV, Documenti per la storia e per le arti ed industrie napoletane. Soc. Nap. di Stor. Patria*, I, 1899.

E. GERSPACH, *Una "Annunciazione" del Cavallini a Firenze, Archiv. Storico It.*, 1901.

F. HERMANIN, *Archiv. Soc. Rom. Stor. Pat.*, XXIII, 1901, p. 397.

— *Nuovi affreschi di Pietro Cavallini, L'Arte*, IV, 1901, pp. 239 ff.

— *Gli affreschi di Pietro Cavallini, Le Gallerie Nazionali Italiane*, V, 1902, pp. 61 ff.

CROWE and CAVALCASELLE, *A History of Painting in Italy*, Ed. Douglas, London, 1903, I, pp. 91 ff.

A. COLASANTI, *Scoperta di antichi affreschi in S. Maria Maggiore, Cimabue o Cavallini*, in *La Tribuna*, July 1904.

G. FERRI, *Un documento su Pietro Cavallini, Nozze Hermanin-Hausmann*, Perugia, 1904.

P. TOESCA, *Gli affreschi di S. Maria Maggiore, L'Arte*, VII, 1904, pp. 312 ff.

E. BERTAUX, *Gli affreschi di S. Maria Donna Regina, Nap. Nobilissima*, XV, 1906, pp. 129 ff.

A. VENTURI, *Pietro Cavallini a Napoli, L'Arte*, IX, 1906, pp. 117 ff.

— *Storia d'Arte It.*, Milano, 1907, V, pp. 127 ff.

C. R. MOREY, *Lost Mosaics and Frescoes of Rome of the Mediaeval Period*, Princeton, 1915.

emerged as a clear and definite personality, and we can ascribe to him and his school with a considerable degree of certainty many important works.

From the examples which remain, Roman painting in the middle of the 13th century appears to have reached a very low level. The frescoes illustrating the *life of Constantine* [1], in the church of the SS. Quattro Coronati, which date from the year 1249, repeat without religious significance the rigid and worn-out Byzantine formulae of an earlier period. The figures are hardly more than calligraphic symbols, executed with flat tones and heavy dark outlines. Their grotesque proportions and grimacing faces show absolutely no consideration of human anatomy or physical beauty. These frescoes, which are painted in violent, inharmonious colours, also lack the decorative character peculiar to medieval painting of a century or two earlier.

Less than fifty years after the execution of the SS. Quattro Coronati frescoes Roman painting became completely revolutionized. Instead of childish, ugly symbols we find living men and women, normally proportioned, and often of considerable beauty as types. They are no longer flat paper figures, but are painted in bold relief with well graduated light and shade. Action and pose have lost much of their stiffness, and the well arranged draperies fall in the simple folds natural to real stuffs. In no other period of Italian art history do we find a more rapid development. Undoubtedly some of the connecting links have been lost, and the SS. Quattro Coronati decorations, the most complete series which have been preserved of the earlier period, were perhaps executed by an inferior artist. Nevertheless so radical a change in point of view could only have been achieved by a minute study of the Classical sculpture, and probably of isolated examples of pagan painting. Such an hypothesis is also borne out by the classical arrangement of the togas and coffures to be found in many of the representations.

The finest examples of this advanced school which have come down to us are the mosaics in Sta. Maria in Trastevere and the fragment in Sta. Cecilia representing the *Last Judgment*, undoubted works of Pietro Cavallini. Whether this revival of the principles of Classical representation is due solely to Cavallini or to a number of artists inspired by the same ideals, we have as yet too little data to decide with any certainty. We know however that at the end of the thirteenth century Cavallini was the most important figure of an entire school of painters which included the Cosmati, Filippo Rusuti and Jacopo Turriti. With the knowledge of this school the appearance of such a genius as Giotto is more easily explained, and we can no longer accept without reservation the Florentine tradition that Giotto received his early education in Florence, and that Cimabue was his master. Although Giotto may have studied under Cimabue, at least the pre-

[1] Pl. 26, Figs. 1-4.

vailing influence which formed the younger artist was the Roman School and Pietro Cavallini.

* * *

The only contemporary document of importance which mentions Cavallini's name proves him to have been in the employ of Charles II of Naples in the year 1308. On the 15th of December of this year Robert Duke of Calabria gave orders that thirty ounces of gold, the yearly salary granted on the 16th of June 1308, and two extra ounces for the rent of a house, be paid to the Roman painter Pietro Cavallini [1]. It also seems probable that the *Pietrus dictus Cavallinus de Cerronibus* mentioned in a Roman notary act dated 1273 may be referred to our painter [2].

Lorenzo Ghiberti, however, who visited Rome at the end of the 14th century, described Cavallini in his *Commentaries* [3], and enumerated his works in Roman Churches. This list included frescoes representing Saints in Old St. Peter's, the entire decorations of Sta. Cecilia and S. Crisogono; six mosaics in Sta. Maria in Trastevere and frescoes in S. Francesco a Ripa. He also attributed to Cavallini, the mosaics on the façade of St. Paul's outside the walls, the stories of the Old and New Testament which decorated the nave, and other frescoes in the chapter house. The Anonimo Gaddiano copied this list, and Vasari, who evidently knew of Cavallini's fame through Ghiberti, increased the number of works by the addition of others which cannot possibly be ascribed to him.

The old basilica of St. Peter's no longer exists; S. Crisogono was rebuilt in the 18th century; S. Francesco a Ripa was transformed into the Baroque style in 1675, and the decorations of St. Paul's outside the walls were destroyed in the fire of 1823.

* * *

The mosaics in the apse of Sta. Maria in Trastevere however have always been associated with the name of Pietro Cavallini. The copies [4] of these mosaics made for

[1] Compare SCHULZ, H. W., *Denkmäler der Kunst des Mittelalters in Unteritalien;* Band IV, p. 127, CCCXXXIV (Robertus, Calabriae dux, vicarius, etc.) Scriptum est eisdem thesaurariis devotis suis (Petro de Capuacio et Philippo de Menilio). Devotioni vestre precipimus, quatenus mandatum predicti domini patris nostri dudum vobis directum sub dato Neapoli die sexto decimo mensis lunii sexte indictionis pro magistro Petro Cavallino de Roma pictore de solvendis sibi gagiis a die dato predicti mandati regii ad racionem de unciis auri triginta ponderis generalis per annum et de unciis auri duabus annuatim pro pensione unius domus per eum Neapoli conducende usque ad beneplacitum regium seu nostrum effectualiter exequi studeatis, recepturi de hiis, que sibi solveritis, apodixas. Datum Neapoli in camera ducali anno domini MCCCVIIIº die XVº Decembris VII indictionis. - *Reg. Rob.* 1309, *H.* 216 *a t.*

[2] G. FERRI, *op. cit.*

[3] VON SCHLOSSER, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 134 ff.

[4] These copies were designed by Antonio Eclissi. See *Cod. Barb.* 2010, f. 16. Earlier copies of these mosaics by Alfonso Ciaconio are also preserved in the Vatican. Cod. Vat. 5408.

Cardinal Barberini in the year 1640 show the ruined inscription, x x VS x x x IT x PETRUS (Opus fecit Petrus.) in the central panel. There was also a date which De Rossi [1] maintained with reason was 1291. Both inscription and date have disappeared in later restoration, but a monogram P. may still be made out in the border of the central panel.

In the centre of the apse over the episcopal throne the *Madonna and Child* [2] are represented encircled by a rainbow mandorla, and flanked by *St. Paul,* and by *St. Peter,* who presents the kneeling donor. Underneath we have the donor's name BERTOLDO FILIUS PET. Bertoldo di Pietro was the brother of the famous Cardinal Stefaneschi.

The Virgin preserves the majestic type peculiar to Byzantine mosaics, and the group lacks the intimate human relationship of the mother and child to be found in later Italian painters. The noble and well proportioned saints are clothed in the Classical toga, somewhat stiff in its main outlines, but very unlike the mannered draperies of Cimabue and other contemporary painters.

The events in the life of the Virgin begin on the pier to the left of the apse with her *Nativity* [3]. St. Ann reclining in a Classical interior is attended by two serving maids, while a third bathes the child and another figure pours water into the basin.

In the *Annunciation* [4] the hieratic Madonna is seated on an elaborate throne decorated with niches, and appears unconscious of the angel mounting the rocky path to the left. The *Nativity of Christ* [5] follows the earlier Medieval conception, and the design is confused on account of the introduction of several only slightly related events. The gorgeously variegated wings of the angels however form an extremely decorative motive. The regal Madonna in the *Adoration of the Magi* [6] reaches to the same height seated as the St. Joseph standing beside her. Cavallini has given over–violent movement to

[1] M. Barbet de Jouy (*Les mosaïques chrét. de Rome,* Paris, 1857, p. 127) stated that he was able to decipher the date MCCLCI underneath the panel representing the *Nativity of Our Lord.* De Rossi (*I musaici cristiani delle chiese di Roma,* Roma, 1899, p. 176) could find no trace of these figures, but pointed out that the circumstances of the life of Bertoldo di Pietro would make such a date appear improbable. He believed that de Jouy had mistaken an L for an X, and that the figures were really MCCXCI.

[2] Pl. 27. The inscription reads:

VIRGO DEUM COMPLEXA SINU SERVANDO PUDOREM
VIRGINEUM MATRIS FUNDANS PER SAECULA NOMEN
RESPICE COMPUNCTOS ANIMOS MISERATA TUORUM.

[3] Pl. 28. The figures of St. Ann and the Virgin are designated by the words; SCA - ANNA - and $\overline{MP}$. $\overline{\Theta Y}$. Below is the inscription:

HUMANI GENERIS SATOR ET QUI PARCERE LAPSIS INSTITUIS, MACULAS VETERIS RUBIGINIS AUFER ARGENTO: THALAMUS TIBI SIT QUO VIRGO REFULGENS.

[4] Pl. 29, Fig. 1. Inscribed:

TUQUE SUPER CUNCTAS BENEDICTA PUERPERA SALVE
VIRGULA QUAE SPONSUM NESCIS, QUAM GRATIA SACRI FLAMINIS IRRADIAT: CAELO MARIS ANNUE SIDVS.

[5] Pl. 29, Fig. 2. Upon the scroll held by an angel are the words: ANNŪTIO VOBIS GAUDIUM MAGNV̄. In the foreground is a small edifice designated: TABERNA MERITORIA. This refers to the mythical building erected above the spot from which spouted the *Fons Olei* at the birth of Our Lord. In fact Cavallini has represented a stream flowing from the doorway.

[6] Pl. 30, Fig. 1. Inscribed:

GENTIBUS IGNOTUS STELLA DUCE NOSCITUR INFANS
IN PRAESEPE IACENS CAELI TERRAEQUE PROFUNDI
CONDITOR, ATQUE MAGI MYRRAM THUS ACCIPIT AURUM.

the somewhat awkward figures of the approaching Magi, but he has charmingly expressed the innocent pleasure of the Divine Infant at their offerings. In the *Presentation in the Temple* [1] the buildings are the formless dolls' houses of the earlier painters, and the poor perspective of the altar produces the appearance of being off the horizontal. The bulky St. Simeon is the prototype of Giotto's figures in the upper-church of Assisi. The last and finest of the series is the *Death and Assumption of the Virgin* [2] on the right pier. Here the Byzantine arrangement is strictly maintained. Above the bier of the Virgin, Christ appears surrounded by a mandorla, and supports the spirit of his Divine Mother in the guise of a little child. On either side stand Angels with great ornamental wings and groups of Apostles. Cavallini attempted rather unsuccessfully to make the figures in the background recede by diminishing their size. The types of the Christ, the Angels and several of the Apostles he repeated in the Sta. Cecilia frescoes. Some of the heads of the Apostles however are entirely modern restoration.

All of these panels have undergone frequent restoration and retain little except their general compositions. Enough remains to prove how far Cavallini surpassed other painters and mosaicists of the 13th century. The figures are not the schematic representations of Medieval mosaics, but have human proportions, and imitate the physical types and draperies of antique statues. They are strongly modelled with several intermediate tones between the lights and darks. Cavallini's method of harmonizing the draperies with the gold background by sprinkling them with gold ornaments, and his more subdued colour also produce an effect very unlike the harsh contrasts of earlier mosaics.

A tradition was handed down by Vasari [3] that our painter designed the mosaics of the façade of Sta. Maria in Trastevere. De Rossi [4] accounts for this tradition by suggesting that certain of the figures were restored by Cavallini, and cites an early fourteenth century necrologium formerly in this church which mentioned contemporary restorations [5]. The character of the whole design, however, notwithstanding frequent restoration, belongs clearly to at least a century earlier. A recent writer has attributed the three figures to the extreme left to Cavallini, and also the head of the Madonna in the apse of the same church. Although this Madonna and the three figures in the façade were undoubtedly restored at the end of the thirteenth century, and the draperies of the latter have something of the character of Cavallini's other works, the resemblances seem too slight to permit of ascribing their restoration with certainty to his hand.

[1] Pl. 30, Fig. 2. Inscribed:
SISTITUR IN TEMPLO PUER ET SIMEONIS IN ULNAS
ACCIPITUR, CUI DANDA QUIES, NAM LUMINA SERVI
CONSPEXERE DEUM, CLARUM IUBAR OMNIBUS ORTUM.

[2] Pl. 31. Inscribed:
AD SUMMUM REGINA THRONUM DEFERTUR IN ALTUM
ANGELICIS PRAELATA CHORIS, CUI FESTINAT IRE
FILIUS OCCURRENS: MATREM SUPER AETHERA PONIT.

[3] Vasari. Ed. Milanesi. Vol. V, p. 53 f.

[4] Venturi, A., *op. cit.*, p. 147 f.

[5] This necrologium is preserved in the library of the British Museum.

* * *

All the writers who mention Pietro Cavallini agree that he painted the decorations of the Basilica of Sta. Cecilia. These frescoes probably remained visible until 1725, in which year the church was unfortunately restored by Cardinal Gaetano Acquaviva who added the decorated ceiling.

The preservation of any portion of the early decorations is due to the fact that in 1527 the Benedictine convent of nuns was removed here from the Campus Martius. These nuns constructed a chapel gallery over the doorway of the west end of the church in order to be present at mass without being observed. Choir stalls and panelling surrounded this chapel on three sides, covering a portion of the west end and the nave walls for a distance of thirty feet, the width of the balcony.

In restoring these stalls, a medieval fresco of extraordinary beauty was uncovered on the west wall. The subject is the *Last Judgment* [1], and must have originally occupied the entire end of the nave as in other medieval churches. In Sta. Cecilia only that portion which was protected by the choir stalls remains.

The dominating figure is a superb Christ [2] enthroned and surrounded by ranks of angels. To the right and left of the Supreme Judge St. John the Baptist [3] and the Madonna [4], flanked by the Apostles seated on thrones, intercede for the Faithful. At a lower level an altar bears the Symbols of the Passion, and angels with silver trumpets sound the final hour. On the left are the sainted deacons, Lawrence and Stephen, and the Faithful led by angels, while to the right the condemned spirits are driven forth by avenging angels.

The Christ is still the majestic figure of the Middle Ages, but has a more youthful and sympathetic expression. He is seated on a richly jewelled throne of the traditional Cosmatesque type, and wears a purple and gold mantle which falls in heavy simple folds. The face has the arched brows, large almond-shaped eyes, and thin nose characteristic of Byzantine representations. Cavallini modelled the flesh with dark brownish tones, and clear, cold high-lights over a green ground. The fusion of lights and shades is obtained by a series of delicate transitions, the brush strokes following the contours of the faces.

The almost Classic figure of the Madonna [5] is still beautiful in spite of the injury caused by repainting. There is a tradition that when the choir stalls were set up in front of the fresco, the panel covering the Madonna refused in veneration to remain in

[1] Pl. 32.
[2] Pl. 33.
[3] Pl. 34, Fig. 1.
[4] Pl. 34, Fig. 2.
[5] Pl. 34, Fig. 2.

place. Her head was, therefore, left uncovered, and has passed through a number of restorations and repaintings in oil. The Virgin is robed in a reddish mantle arranged with a dignity and elegance unequalled by other artists until the fifteenth century.

The Apostles [1] have strongly individualized heads and almost appear portraits of living people. Several heads have great beauty, although the eyes are too close together, and the ears over large and round. The hair is arranged in long rope-like tresses formed by a series of parallel brush strokes. On the base of each throne was originally the Apostle's name; five of them are now lacking. To the right of the Baptist [2] is St. Paul with the sword, balanced on the other side by St. Peter [3]; and the names of the Apostles, James, Bartholomew, Thomas and Andrew can also be deciphered.

Below these figures the four angels [4] with trumpets are better preserved, and still retain the original golden tones in the hair and the clear rose-pink of the mantles. The three tiers of the Blessed are each marshalled by an angel [5]. In the upper row are male saints young and old, in the second ecclesiastics headed by a Pope; and in the lowest row, female saints. The lifelike nudes which represent the damned are smaller in scale than the saints, and have more vivacity and better proportions.

On the sections of the nave walls protected by the gallery fragmentary decorations are still preserved. The left wall facing the altar contains a torso of a saint [6] in armour, probably St. Michael, and an *Annunciation* [7]. Both figures in this panel are ruined, but their features and postures repeat exactly the angelic messenger and Madonna in the mosaics of Sta. Maria in Trastevere. The *Annunciation* probably initiated the *stories of the New Testament* which covered the entire left wall. Other fragments on the right wall represent *Jacob's Dream* and the *Deception of Isaac.* On this side there is painted in the angle adjoining the *Last Judgment* a twisted column resembling the architectural divisions in S. Francesco at Assisi.

Both Ghiberti and Vasari describe Sta. Cecilia as decorated throughout by Pietro Cavallini, and Roman guidebooks as late as 1674 mention the stories of the Old and New Testament in the nave of the church [8]. These were without doubt destroyed by the restorations of Cardinal Acquaviva in 1725. Above the present ceiling Federico Hermanin, who made a careful study of these frescoes, has found painted niches surmounted by Gothic pediments. In one of these niches there is still preserved an entire figure of a saint, which repeats the type of the Apostles in the *Last Judgment.*

[1] Pls. 35, 36, Figs. 1, 2.
[2] Pl. 34, Fig. 1.
[3] Pl. 32.
[4] Pl. 37, Figs. 1, 2.
[5] Pl. 38, Fig. 1.
[6] F. HERMANIN (*op. cit.*) believes this saint to have been St. Christopher, probably on account of its colossal size. St. Christopher, however, is never represented in Italian painting as wearing armour.
[7] Pl. 38, Fig. 2.
[8] See FILIPPO TITI, *Nuovo studio di pittura, scoltura e architettura nelle chiese di Roma*, Roma, 1674, p. 43.

In the frescoes in Sta. Cecilia Cavallini not only revived Classical types, giving to his figures the proportions of the antique and reproducing the forms of Roman drapery, but he also imitated the elegance and calm repose of Classical art.

* * *

In St. Paul's outside the walls nothing now remains to recall the style of Cavallini. The mosaics originally on the façade which Ghiberti attributed to him have been divided into two parts, one section is now preserved on the back of the arch of Galla Placidia, and the other on the face of the triumphal arch. Both have been entirely re-made, but the fact that John XXII, who was Pope between the years 1316 and 1334, was represented, would make it seem impossible that Cavallini had anything to do with their execution.

Copies of the frescoes of the nave, which were destroyed by fire in 1823, were made in the 17th century for Cardinal Francesco Barberini, and are now preserved in the Vatican Library [1]. The walls of the nave were divided into two zones; on the right wall were represented the events of the *Old Testament* beginning with the *Creation*, and on the left stories of the *New Testament*, many of them dealing with the life of St. Paul. Above between the windows stood colossal figures of prophets and Apostles; and on the west wall was represented the *Passion of Christ*. The piers of the triumphal arch were decorated with Sts. Peter and Paul, and the kneeling figure of the Abbot Bartolomeo. This Bartolomeo was abbot between the years 1282 and 1287. He was also the donor of the baldacchino in the same church dated 1285, which bears his name, and the names of the sculptor Arnolfo di Cambio and his associate a certain PETRUS. There is some probability that this Peter may be Cavallini himself who is described by Vasari as interested in sculpture [2].

Notwithstanding the poor execution of these 17th century copies of the St. Paul's frescoes a comparison of them with his other work makes it seem certain that Ghiberti was right in ascribing them to Cavallini, who probably painted them between 1282 and 1287.

* * *

The mosaics in Sta. Maria in Trastevere and the Sta. Cecilia frescoes are the only works, existing in Rome, which can be ascribed without hesitation to Pietro Cavallini. However in the time of Ghiberti and Vasari the church of S. Crisogono contained decor-

[1] *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 4406. See Pl. 39, Figs. 1, 2.

[2] VASARI, *op. cit.*, I, p. 541.

ations by our painter or his school. These were destroyed when the church was remodelled, but a mosaic [1], which has considerable affinity with Cavallini's types, is now placed in the apse. It presents a very much stylized Madonna supporting on her knee the Infant Christ, and seated upon a throne decorated with colonnettes. On a smaller scale are the Saints Crisogono and James. The Madonna has the great staring eyes, and full curve to the cheek modelled with a flat greyish tone, peculiar to the female heads in Sta. Maria in Trastevere. The tall slender saints however lack the strong relief characteristic of Cavallini, and the draperies are confused in arrangement. The colouring is quiet and harmonious with a sprinkling of gold in the ornaments and in the high lights of the Christ Child's mantle.

* * *

After enumerating Cavallini's more important decorations Ghiberti states that " he painted in Rome in many places ". The fresco [2] in the apse of S. Giorgio in Velabro, although covered with modern paint, still retains a style closely related to the Sta. Cecilia decorations. The restorer however destroyed both the proportions and contours of the figures, and has made it forever impossible for us to distinguish the hand which executed them. The design repeats the arrangement common to mosaic decorations in the apses of several of the Roman basilicas, the earliest example of which is to be found in SS. Cosma and Damiano. A colossal figure of Christ in benediction and supported on the terrestrial globe dominates the entire church. To the right and left respectively are ranged the Madonna and St. George with his warhorse, and St. Peter and a Saint in armour probably intended to represent St. Sebastian. On account of a bad crack it was necessary to renew the St. George from the knees downward, and his form has been greatly shortened. The head of Christ is of the benign type of the Redeemer in Sta. Cecilia. As in that figure the eyes are placed too near together, and the face is framed with great masses of hair. The Madonna both in her features and movement recalls the hieratic Virgins of the Sta. Maria in Trastevere mosaics, and the saints find their prototypes in these mosaics and among the figures in Sta. Cecilia.

These decorations in S. Giorgio in Velabro were probably executed for Cardinal Jacopo Stefaneschi who was created Cardinal deacon of this church in the year 1295 [3]. It is interesting to note that Ciacconio [4] mentioned the existence of the Stefaneschi arms both in the decorations of Sta. Cecilia and in those of S. Giorgio in Velabro. Cardinal

[1] Pl. 40.
[2] Pl. 41.
[3] F. M. Torrigio, *Le Sacre grotte vaticane* 1675 Pt. D, p. 163.
[4] Alfonso Ciacconio, *Vitae et gesta summorum pontificum*, Romae, 1601.

Jacopo Stefaneschi was the brother of Bertoldo di Pietro whose portrait appears as the donor in Cavallini's mosaics in Sta. Maria in Trastevere.

* * *

Even more clearly attributable to Cavallini is the fresco decorating the lunette [1] above the tomb of Cardinal Matteo d'Acquasparta in Sta. Maria in Aracoeli. The Cardinal died in the year 1302, and the tomb was probably designed by one of the Cosmati, who repeated the Gothic motives of the Consalvo monument in Sta. Maria Maggiore. The Virgin and Divine Infant enthroned are adored by St. John the Evangelist and St. Francis, who presents the kneeling cardinal. The Virgin's haughty features reproduce the conventions of the tondo in Sta. Maria in Trastevere, and the St. John to the left has the rigid pose and mantle falling in long vertical folds of the St. Paul in that mosaic. In the medallion above, the Redeemer's oval head encircled by dark massy locks recalls the representations described. This fresco has also been repainted, and the colour, and even much of the drawing, is modern.

* * *

Vasari attributed to Cavallini several frescoes in S. Francesco at Assisi which have nothing in common with his style. In the upper church however, the decorations illustrating the *Genesis* and scenes from the *New Testament* ought also to be included in our study. The *Old Testament* subjects in these panels not only occur in the same sequence in the Barberini copies of the S. Paolo decorations, but the grouping and action of the separate figures is the same in both series. At least two of the Assisi frescoes have the character of Cavallini's own brushwork in Sta. Cecilia.

The stories of *Genesis* begin on the right wall of the nave nearest the high altar. They are divided by painted mouldings into two zones, and are placed symmetrically on either side of the windows. As in the copies of the S. Paolo frescoes the first subject represents the *Separation of Light from Darkness* [2]. The Creator encircled by an aureole of Seraphim stretches forth his arms towards the personifications of Light and Darkness. Light is symbolized by a tiny male figure radiating beams of light, and Darkness by a draped female shedding forth blue rays. In the foreground the creatures of earth, air and water adore the Eternal Being. The composition with the exception of the animals is exactly that of the Barberini drawing. Even such details as the figuration

[1] Pl. 42.

[2] Pl. 43.

of the sun, moon and stars, and the symbolic dove occur in both representations. Although coarser in execution the benign countenance of the Creator resembles closely Cavallini's Christ in Sta. Cecilia.

As in the Barberini codex the second scene represents the *Creation of Man.* The Eternal Father, wearing a yellow mantle and seated on the blue ball of the Universe, creates life in the reclining Adam. In the *Creation of Eve* the Creator blesses with the same gesture the figure of Eve issuing from the side of Adam. The grouping and poses of the figures in these subjects repeat the S. Paolo frescoes. The *Temptation* is almost entirely destroyed. The figure of Eve has disappeared and only the head and outline of Adam remain. In the *Expulsion from Paradise* the angel driving before him the cowering figures of our first parents has the great parti-coloured wings and the elaborate coiffure of the Angel of the Annunciation in Sta. Maria in Trastevere. The sixth and seventh panels have altogether disappeared, and the eighth is too fragmentary even to suggest the subject.

The compositions in the second zone begin with *God appearing to Noah* and the *Building of the Ark* [1]. These two events occur in a single panel in S. Francesco. At the extreme left Noah stretches forth his hands towards the Heavenly vision; to the right Noah seated on a throne directs the labours of three youths. The arrangement and action of the figures is almost identical with the two Barberini drawings of these same subjects. The second panel in this zone originally contained the *Ark and the entrance of the animals.* The only fragments that remain represent a ram ascending a plank towards the walls of the Ark, and a figure looking out from a loggia-like construction above. The two compositions representing *Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac* [2] and the *Visitation of Abraham by the Angels* also occur in the Barberini codex. The relationship between these drawings and the Assisi decorations appears very clearly in the exaggerated action of Abraham rushing forward with arm raised to strike the kneeling form of Isaac. His somewhat awkwardly proportioned figure and swirling mantle were surely designed by the same hand as the S. Paolo fresco.

The panels containing the *Deception of Isaac* [3] and *Esau demanding his Father's blessing* [4] are so much finer in drawing than the other stories of Genesis, that Hermanin [5], who attributed the latter to Cavallini, believed them to be early works of Giotto. He realized however that the figures are Roman in type, and therefore argued that Giotto derived his early education from the Roman School. Although these scenes are undoubt-

[1] Pl. 43.
[2] Pl. 44.
[3] Pl. 45, Fig. 1.
[4] Pl. 45, Fig. 2.

[5] HERMANIN, *op. cit.* A. VENTURI (*op. cit.*, p. 1391) was the first writer to maintain that these two panels were the work of Cavallini's own hand.

edly by a different hand from the panels which precede them, they not only repeat the S. Paolo compositions, but reproduce the details and method of execution to be found in the Apostles of Sta. Cecilia. In the half-ruined representation of the *Deception of Isaac* the noble expressive head of the youthful Jacob is very similar to the St. John among the Apostles, and like the draperies of those figures, his mantle is arranged in logical folds about his well-proportioned form. In both the Assisi panels Rebecca has features which suggest some antique model, as does also the manner in which her head is enveloped in the mantle. In the representation of *Esau demanding his Father's blessing* the feeble old man raises his hands with a hesitating groping gesture splendidly expressive of his blindness. There is a close analogy to the Apostles in Sta. Cecilia in the strong modelling of all three heads in this panel, and in their calm and dignified poses which contrast strongly with the violent action of Noah and Abraham in the stories which precede.

The next panel has disappeared, and only a few fragments of *Joseph sold by his brethren to the Midianites* now remain. The last scene in this zone represents *Joseph's brethren interceding for Benjamin* [1]. It is probably of the same period as the preceding one, although the elaborate architectural background resembles the panels in the zone below generally attributed to Giotto.

On the left wall of the nave the sequence of subjects of the upper series begins with the *Annunciation* in the panel nearest the altar. From the few existing fragments the arrangement appears to have been the same as in the *Annunciation* of Sta. Maria in Trastevere. The second panel has disappeared. The composition of the *Nativity* [2] notwithstanding some repainting is very well preserved. The resemblance to the same subject in the mosaics of Sta. Maria in Trastevere is evident in every particular. The Angels, although placed differently, appear drawn from the same cartoon, as do also the hieratic Madonna and the portrait-like profile of the shepherd with hand raised towards the angelic vision. However, a certain flatness in the figures, their badly drawn extremities, and angular draperies make it seem improbable that Cavallini carried out the execution of this panel.

Little now exists of the three scenes representing the *Adoration of the Magi,* the *Presentation in the Temple,* and *Christ before the Doctors,* but the two first subjects seem to have followed the compositions of the Sta. Maria in Trastevere mosaics. The *Baptism* in the panel nearest the entrance wall is also ruined, but the fragments of the nude figure of Christ and the heads of the Angels are carefully modelled.

The first two panels in the second zone probably represented the *Marriage of Canaan,* and *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane,* but only fragments are preserved.

[1] Pl. 46, Fig. 1.

[2] Pl. 46, Fig. 2.

The central figures in the *Betrayal* [1] are mannered and clumsy in proportions, and do not suggest our painter's execution. He or one of his assistants however reproduced several of the heads of this fresco in the same subject in Sta. Maria Donna Regina at Naples. The scoundrel to the right who grasps Christ's garments has the same features as Judas himself in the Naples picture, and the old rabbi with long pointed beard and head wrapped in a white napkin also occurs in the latter representation. The fourth panel has been erased, and too little exists of the scenes containing *Christ bearing the Cross,* and the *Crucifixion,* to enable one to judge of their technique. The *Deposition* [2] however is in a fair state of preservation, and reproduces the well proportioned figures, and even the Classic female type to be found in the two stories of Jacob and Esau. A further proof of Cavallini's connection with this composition is the repetition in Sta. Maria Donna Regina of the central group. In both pictures the Virgin supports Christ's head in her lap with her right arm and encircles his waist with her left. However in the Donna Regina fresco it is Nicodemus, instead of the weeping Magdalen, who raises the divine foot to his lips. The St. John in both instances supports the arm, and kisses the wound in the hand. The fragments representing the *Marys at the Tomb,* the last scene on this wall, also resemble the Donna Regina composition of the same subject.

The end wall over the entrance doorway is decorated with the *Ascension* and the *Coming of the Holy Ghost.* Although both subjects are the work of Roman artists, the latter at least would seem from the character of its architectural background to have been painted several years after the other scenes of the *New Testament.* To the same period probably belong the two decorated vaults representing the *Four Doctors of the Church* and half figures of *Christ, the Virgin, the Baptist, and St. Francis* [3]. The large arch of the entrance wall, and several of the arches under the vaults are also painted with small figures resembling the Roman School.

Although this vast series of frescoes which we have described can by no means be attributed in their entirety to Cavallini, a detailed consideration of them has seemed desirable in order better to understand the achievement of the school in which our painter was the most brilliant figure [4]. Our defective data and the ruinous state of the frescoes make any attribution of the separate panels to individual artists hazardous. However I should suggest the probability that a Roman Artist, a contemporary of Cavallini and educated under the same influences, painted the *Separation of Light and Darkness,* the stories of *Noah,* the *Sacrifice of Isaac,* and the *Nativity,* and that Cavallini himself executed

[1] Pl. 47, Fig. 1.

[2] Pl. 47, Fig. 2.

[3] A. VENTURI (*op. cit.,* pp. 178 and 186) attributed this vault and the saints in couples under the arch of the entrance wall to Filippo Rusuti. The second decorated vault he believes to be the work of Jacopo Turriti.

[4] The supposition has been made that Cavallini designed the entire cycle. If this is true however it is difficult to explain the fact that his brush work appears in only two of the compositions.

the two scenes of *Jacob and Esau*, and possibly the *Deposition*. A third painter executed the composition of *Joseph sold into Egypt* and *Joseph's Brethren pleading for Benjamin* and possibly the *Betrayal* [1].

The only existing document dealing with the decorations of S. Francesco at this period is a Papal bull of May 15, 1288, which orders that certain offerings be employed for the repairing, enlarging and embellishment of the church. This document however is too vague to assist us in deciding upon the date at which the school of Roman painters worked in Assisi. The scenes representing *Esau and Jacob*, which we have ascribed to Cavallini, show a less developed technique than the Sta. Cecilia fresco or the mosaics in Sta. Maria in Trastevere. Cavallini worked in S. Paolo about 1285, and it would seem probable that he helped to execute the same subjects in Assisi just before or just after that year.

It remains to say a word in regard to the *Legends of St. Francis* which are generally held to be early works of Giotto. The compositions were manifestly not all painted by the same hand, and although a number of them are sufficiently related to the frescoes in the Arena Chapel for us to attribute them to Giotto, others repeat the types of the Roman masters which we have been considering. Very probably the same group of artists who painted the stories of the *Old* and *New Testament* worked with Giotto at least in the earlier compositions of the series of St. Francis. It is also tenable that Giotto designed the whole series, and directed the other painters.

* * *

The SALA DEI NOTARI in the Palazzo Comunale at Perugia is one of the earliest and most beautiful examples of civic art in Italy [2]. The decorations which date in all probability from the end of the 13th century were barbarously restored, and completely repainted between the years 1860 and 1885. These frescoes both in the composition of their subjects and the character of their details resemble the works of Cavallini and his followers. Their condition however is such as to preclude the possibility of any definite attribution to our master's own hand.

The ceiling of the hall is supported on eight elliptical arches, the spandrels of which are decorated with frescoes on both sides of the arch. Below these arches the walls are painted with the arms of the different Podestà of Perugia. These arms however in

[1] For a complete bibliography of the various attributions given to this series of frescoes, see: A. VENTURI, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

[2] See CRISTOFANI, G., *La mostra d'antica arte umbra a Perugia*, *L'Arte*, X, Fas. IV, 1907, pp. 286 ff.

some cases are modern copies, and their dates cannot help us in determining the chronology of the decorations.

Considering the frescoes in their natural order we begin with the northern face of the arch nearest the small doorway which gives access from the interior staircase of the palace. The composition in the spandrel to the left represents *Gideon who squeezes water from a fleece at the command of the Angel*, above God the Father appears in an aureola [1]. The angel with great variegated wings recalls Cavallini's designs, as does also the Cosmatesque apse behind Gideon. In the right spandrel the *Eternal Father appears to Moses in the burning bush* [2]. The colour of this fresco is modern, but the figures have the small rather round heads with abundant soft hair and drapery falling in folds copied from the antique characteristic of our painter.

The second arch on its south side presents to the left *Moses and Aaron before Pharaoh* [3]. Here again the throne is of the Cosmatesque type, and the delicately delineated head of the youthful Aaron resembles the Apostles in Sta. Cecilia. To the right only a fragment remains of the *pursuit of the Israelites by Pharaoh and his followers* [4]. On the north face to the left a *wolf attacks a lamb drinking at a brook* [5]. These familiar Aesopean fables which occur in other 12th and 13th century representations were probably derived from a medieval version of Phaedrus in prose [6]. The fable of the wolf and the lamb is also represented on the fountain outside the palace begun by Niccolò Pisano. In the right spandrel of this second arch the *Creation of man* initiates a series of stories from Genesis. This composition is similar in arrangement and detail to the same subject in the copies of the S. Paul's decorations, and in S. Francesco at Assisi. The Eternal Father seated on the sphere of the Universe holds forth a sceptre and touches the lips of the half reclining Adam. The Creator is youthful and bearded, recalling Cavallini's other representations of Christ [7].

The third arch on its south face to the left continues the scenes from Genesis with the *Creation of Eve* [8]. This same composition occurs both in the Barberini drawings and in S. Francesco. The Eternal Father is less repainted than other figures and retains something of Cavallini's colour and method of modelling. The corresponding panel to the right represents *St. George and the Dragon.* St. George, wearing chain-mail and mounted on a dapple-grey horse, transfixes with his lance a furious dragon. On the north face of this arch to the left is the fable of the *bound who, deceived by his own*

[1] Inscribed: GEDEON. SIGV̄M. VIDIT. AQVAE. Ī. VELLERE.

[2] Pl. 48. Inscribed: MOISES. AUTE̅. PASSCEBAT. OVES. RETRO. CONGNA. APPARVIT Q̄M. EI. DNS. Ī FLAMA IGNIS DE MEDIO RUBI.

[3] MOISES. ET. AARON. DIXERV̄T FARAONI. HEC DICIT DN̄US DEVS ISRAEL DIMITTE POPVLVM MEVM.

[4] CVQUE. EXTE̅DISSET. MOYSES. MAV̄M. CŌTRA. MARE REVERSV̄ EST AD PRIORE̅ LOCUM.

[5] AESOP. Teubner Ed., 274.

[6] See L. ROTH, *Philologus*, I, 523 ff.

[7] The figures are inscribed: X̄PS and ADAM.

[8] Pl. 49, Fig. 1. The figures are inscribed: ADAM and EVA.

reflection, drops his meal into the stream [1]. To the right are represented *Adam and Eve at work* [2]. Eve holds a distaff and Adam tills the soil. This subject does not appear in Cavallini's other frescoes but the head of Eve resembles the angel in Sta. Cecilia.

The fourth arch facing south to the left contains the *sacrifices of Cain and Abel* [3]. Abel holds a lamb which he is about to place on his altar, while Cain throws ears of corn on his own fire. Abel's sacrifice burns brightly upwards, but the smoke from Cain's offering is blown to the ground. In the spandrel to the right is another Aesopean [4] fable, the *crane which extracts with its beak a bone from the throat of a wolf* [5]. The same subject is depicted as early as the first half of the 12th century on the Porta dei Principi of the Modena cathedral, and also occurs among the sculptures of the fountain at Perugia. On the north side of this arch to the left are represented the *fox and the crow.* The fox flatters the crow until she raises her voice and drops the morsel from her beak [6]. To the right a *youth in a tree is taking aim while two other hunters point out the quarry.* The arrangement of the two figures on either side of a great tree recalls the Prophet and Apostle separated by a palm tree in Sta. Maria Donna Regina.

On the fifth arch to the left a *youth shoots an arrow at a second figure.* This and the preceding scene may be a continuation of the story of Cain and Abel. To the right is the fable of the *fox and the grapes* [7]. In the left spandrel on the north face of this arch a *wolf approaches a lioness stretched out in a cavern.* This is probably a version of the Aesopean story of the aged lion attached by the other animals. The panel to the right represents a *richly dressed female mounted on a horse.*

The sixth arch facing the south to the left is without decoration. To the right a *dog on a house-top barks at a passing wolf* [8]. This may refer to the story of the wolf who prefers to starve in freedom. Another Aesopean fable is presented on the north side of this arch to the left where a *dog accompanied by her litter drives away a large hound.* The spandrel to the right on this side is also without decoration. Between the sixth and seventh arches above the window a *bull contends with a lion.*

The seventh arch on the south face to the left depicts a *knight on horseback attacked by a dragon who fastens his fangs in the neck of the horse and winds a scaly tail about his limbs.* To the right a *fox sets fire to a tree in which is a nest of young eagles while above the female flies off with a young fox in her talons* [9]. On the north face to the left a *boar attacks a wolf.* In the spandrel to the right a *young woman refuses*

[1] Inscribed: E. POTANE. PANE. IN. ORE. This is a variation of the Aesopean Fable; *op. cit.*, 233.
[2] Inscribed: ADAM, EVA.
[3] Pl. 49, Fig. 2. Inscribed: ABEL, CAIM.
[4] AESOP. Teubner Ed., 276.
[5] Inscribed: D̄ LVPO E GRUE.
[6] AESOP, *op. cit.*, 204.
[7] AESOP, *op. cit.*, 33 B. Inscribed: NONDV̄ MATURA EST.
[8] AESOP, *op. cit.*, 278.
[9] AESOP. Teubner Ed., 5.

passage over a bridge to two warriors. The first warrior bears a shield decorated with a lion's head. The woman is of the Classical type peculiar to Cavallini.

The eighth arch on the south side to the left represents a *knight kneeling before an outdoor shrine; behind him a horse is fastened to a tree.* The architecture of the shrine with typanum pierced by a small rose-window is of the half-classic style characteristic of the Roman school. To the right a *thief attempts to silence a watch-dog by feeding him* [1]. On the north side of this arch in the left spandrel is a *poor man, semi-nude, seated between two trees.* To the right a *page clings to the bridle of a rearing horse.* The movement of the gayly caparisoned horse and his groom recalls the antique statues of Castor and Pollux before the Quirinal Palace.

The north wall of the hall was originally decorated with a great battle scene, fragments of which are still preserved. A fallen horse and rider are accurate in drawing and foreshortening and appear copied from some Roman sepulcral relief. The same motive occurs at a slightly earlier period upon the tomb of St. Dominic in Bologna. Other fragments represent the heads of warriors surrounding a crowned figure; and horsemen dashing forward. This latter group which occurs at the extreme right of the composition is full of spirit.

On this wall above the doorway which gives access from the Piazza a lunette represents a *nobleman seated at a table loaded with viands while a monk warms himself before a fire.* This scene is probably symbolic of the months of December and January. The arms of the family of the Cancellieri of Pistoia occur on the upper part of the lunette. They appear however to cover a portion of the original composition, and therefore cannot help us in regard to the date of the fresco. Decorating the splay of the windows are also half figures of females, several of them symbolic of the Virtues.

The well proportioned figures and architectural detail to be found in these decorations are even more closely related to Cavallini's style as we recognize it in Sta. Cecilia than are many of the compositions in S. Francesco at Assisi. It would be hazardous however to attribute the animal subjects in their repainted condition to Cavallini or his school, although they appear to form a part of the original decorative scheme. These fables have great interest in that they are almost the only representations of purely secular subjects preserved of the thirteenth and fourteenth century.

* * *

The contemporary document, which proves our painter to have been in the employ of Charles II of Naples in the year 1308, has already been described [2]. In this city

[1] AESOP, *op. cit.*

[2] P. 79, Note 1.

the Chapel of the Convent of Sta. Maria Donna Regina still preserves decorations which resemble very closely Cavallini's frescoes in Sta. Cecilia. The convent was rebuilt through a largess given by Queen Maria of Hungary between 1307 and 1314. The Chapel and its decorations were probably finished before 1311, the year in which Pope John XXII granted indulgences to the faithful who visited it.

A great fresco portraying the *Last Judgment* covers the interior wall of the façade. Its iconography is precisely that of the same subject in Sta. Cecilia. The Glorified Redeemer [1] encircled by Seraphim is seated upon the judgment throne, while above an archangel in armour and the three patriarchs Isaac, Abraham, and Jacob form a guard of honour. To the left and right of the Divine Judge the Madonna and St. John the Baptist make intercession. At a lower level an altar supports the Symbols of the Passion, and Angels summon with long trumpets the spirits of the dead from land and sea. Nude figures rise up out of the open tombs, or are vomited forth from the mouths of sea-monsters and beasts of prey. The upper zones beyond the two lancet windows, which divide this wall into three panels, contain the legions of the Angels. In the next tier are ranged the Prophets and below these the Apostles seated on thrones, each holding his appropriate insignia [2]. In the lowest zone to the left the hosts of the blessed enter the New Jerusalem [3] and to the right the lost souls are forced into Eternal Torment [4].

The ruined condition of this fresco makes it difficult to recognize with certainty Cavallini's own execution. Although the ranks of Apostles are somewhat more stylized than in Sta. Cecilia, they reproduce the general proportions and arrangement of mantles of those figures, and they possess the same statuesque repose. The detail in the features and extremities is also similar. On the other hand the crowded group of the saints in Paradise appears obviously the work of an assistant, probably a Sienese painter.

On the nave wall to the left facing the choir are represented in three zones the scenes from the *New Testament*. The upper portion of these decorations and the corresponding panels on the right wall were destroyed when the wooden ceiling and painted frieze were introduced in the sixteenth century. The upper zone contains two episodes of the *Last Supper* [5], *Christ washing the feet of His Disciples* [6], *Christ and his Disciples in the Garden of Gethsemane* [7] and the *Betrayal* [8]. These compositions are the work of some assistant, although the *Betrayal* repeats the general disposition and some of the heads

[1] This figure in almost entirely destroyed.

[2] See detail on Pl. 50. The Prophets and many of the saints bear their names on scrolls. The names of the Apostles were originally below each figure.

[3] Pl. 51.

[4] The lower portion of the Inferno is inscribed: SUPERBI ET INVIDI. - FALSA . . . . . SIS ET APOSTATI. - ESTI SI QUI AUGURIA ET DIVINATIONES FECERUNT ET IN FLUMINIBUS TERRE PUEROS VOCAVERUNT.
Adjoining the lower border: TENEBORS EXTERIORES.

[5] Pl. 52, Fig. 1.

[6] Pl. 52, Fig. 2.

[7] Pl. 52, Fig. 3.

[8] Pl. 52, Fig. 4.

in the same subject in S. Francesco at Assisi. In the zone below, the *Flagellation* [1] is ruined but in the scene where *Christ is led from Caiaphas the high priest to Pilate* [2], Cavallini has given us a very powerful drama. He has admirably expressed the dispair of the Marys, and the humility and patient resignation of the drooping figure of our Lord. His strongly modelled head with its benign features has all the delicate beauty of the hieratic Christ in Sta. Cecilia. The buildings reproduce the architectural forms of the Cosmati, and Castel S. Angelo appears in the background. The subjects which follow represent the *Ecce Homo* and *Christ on the road to Calvary* [3]. Most realistic in its overwhelming tragedy is the scene of *Christ fastened to the Cross* [4]. At the left the Madonna covers the nakedness of her Divine Son despoiled of His garments. The dominating figure however is the half fainting Christ hoisted by the brutal centurions into its place upon the Cross. In the *Crucifixion* [5], which is less well preserved, the over-attenuated form of Christ does not suggest Cavallini.

The *Deposition* [6] in the third zone differs in colour from the other panels, and has the same yellow flesh as the figures of saints in the lower portion of the *Last Judgment.* The rigid form of Christ supported by the Madonna occurs as we have seen in the Assisi fresco [7]. The panels which follow represent *Christ in Limbus* [8], *the three Marys at the tomb* [9], *Christ appearing to the Marys,* the *doubting of Thomas* [10] and *His appearances on Mt. Tabor and the Mount of Olives* [11], and in the lancet window the *Ascension* and the *Pentecost.* The figures in all these scenes are rendered in Cavallini's manner, although they are coarsely painted and poor in proportions.

The five compositions in the lowest zone on this wall represent *episodes in the life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary.* They differ entirely from the other frescoes, and their warm yellowish tonality against a blackish background and elaborately wrought ornamentation suggest the work of some Sienese painter influenced by Simone Martini. We know that this artist worked in Naples for the first time in 1316. This fact and the developed character of the architectural background argue a later date for this series than the panel ascribed to Cavallini.

Both of the nave walls adjoining the triumphal arch were originally pierced by three

[1] Pl. 53.
[2] Pl. 54; Pl. 55, detail of same.
[3] Pl. 56.
[4] Pl. 57. Detail Pl. 58.
[5] Pl. 59, Fig. 1.
[6] Pl. 59, Fig. 2.
[7] Page 89.
[8] Pl. 60, Fig. 1. Inscribed underneath: MORTEM VINCIT SUA MORTE RESERAVIT SERAS PORTE SUE MORTIS GRATIA.

Several of the other panels originally bore inscriptions.

[9] Pl. 60, Fig. 2. Inscribed: QUEM QUERITIS JHESUM NAZARENUM..... IN GALILEA ET EUM VIDEBITIS SIC DIXI VOBIS.....
[10] Pl. 61. Detail Pl. 62.
[11] Pl. 63. Inscribed: APPARITIONES DOMINI NOSTRI J. C. APPARUIT JOSEPH ARIMATH. II. MATRI SUE. III. MARIE MAGDALENE. IV. A SEPULCRO. V. JACOB. ALPHEI. VI. PETRO. VII. DUOBUS DISCIPULIS..... AD EMMAUM ET MOMENTO INFRACTIONIS COGNOVERUNT EUM. VIII. DISCIPULIS JANUIS OBTUSIS.

lancet windows. The spaces between these openings are divided vertically into three panels. Each of these panels with one exception contains a colossal figure of a *Prophet* and an *Apostle* separated by a palm tree. The motive recalls the decorations in the early Christian basilicas, and similar colossal figures, although not in pairs, were employed by Cavallini to decorate the spaces between the windows in St. Paul's outside the walls [1]. Among the better preserved couples on the left wall we can still distinguish the youthful figures of the sainted deacons, Lawrence and Stephen, who take the place of a prophet and apostle, Joseph and St. Peter, Obadiah and an unnamed Apostle, and St. Thomas. The names of all the figures were originally inscribed below the panels. The fair head of St. Thomas has the subtle beauty of contour and delicate gradations in the modelling of the younger Apostles in Sta. Cecilia. As in those figures, the eyes are large and elongated, the small mouth has an almost feminine sensitiveness the nose is long and straight, and the ear round with short lobe. The St. Thaddeus in Sta. Cecilia is the prototype of the bearded Apostle who indicates with forefinger a text in the Evangelists. In an upper panel [2] on the right wall Haggai wearing Roman toga and St. Philip retain that noble severity of bearing characteristic of the sacred figures in the early mosaics. Cavallini no doubt painted with his own hand several of the heads, especially the St. Thomas, but he can hardly be responsible for the inferior execution of these frescoes, and the frequent repetition of poses and gestures.

Corresponding to the series illustrating the *New Testament* the right wall depicts episodes from the lives of St. Catherine of Alexandria and St. Agnes. The scenes are arranged in vertical order beginning in the upper zone. Only fragments remain of *St. Catherine refusing to worship false gods, St. Catherine confounding the doctors, her committal to prison, and her martyrdom.* The earlier stories in the life of St. Agnes, *her school life and her meeting with the son of the prefect* are also partially destroyed. In the scene where *St. Agnes is conducted into a house of ill-fame* [3] the gentle Saint, enveloped in her miraculous hair, is led forward by her guards towards a ribald company who await her under a portico. Mocking youths clank cymbals and blow on long trumpets to herald her arrival. Cavallini has succeeded in creating a very real personality in the beautiful face of the Saint turned in mute supplication towards her cruel guards. The background which repeats the architectural forms of the scenes of the Passion is decorated with statues and bas-reliefs. The subjects representing the *Martyrdom of St. Agnes* [4],

[1] Pl. 64.

[2] Pl. 65. Head of Haggai in Pl. 66.

[3] Pl. 67. Detail Pl. 68. Inscribed: NON POTERAT VINCERE FECIT EAM SPOLIARI.

[4] Pl. 69, Fig. 1. Inscribed: AGNETEM UT EUM SUSCITARET VIRTUTE DEI RESUSCITAVIT PREFECTUS VOLENS COMBURI BEATAM AGNETEM, IGNIS DIVISUS FUIT IN DUOBUS PARTIBUS ET MULTI FUERUNT UNUS PERCUTIENS BEATAM AGNETEM.

and her appearance in a vision to the daughter of Constantine [1], show unmistakable Sienese elements.

The triumphal arch originally presented the Hierarchy of Heaven, but only that portion of the fresco on the left pier, which contains the *Thrones, Dominions and Archangels,* is preserved [2]. These Angelic figures repeat monotonously the same movements and facial expressions, and have little in common with Cavallini's beautiful groups surrounding the Christ in Sta. Cecilia.

The painted mouldings frequently decorated with losenges and busts, and the Cosmatesque spiral columns which divide the separate subjects, were employed by Cavallini in the Sta. Cecilia frescoes. Similar divisions also occur between the *Legends of St. Francis* in S. Francesco at Assisi.

The frescoes in the Convent of Sta. Maria Donna Regina like the series of the *Old* and *New Testament* in S. Francesco are the work of several hands. The frescoes at Assisi however do not give evidence of the control of any individual artist, but appear rather painted by a group of Roman painters working together on nearly equal terms. Although Cavallini afterwards reproduced many of these subjects in his later compositions, it does not seem probable that he directed or furnished designs for the entire work in S. Francesco. On the contrary the frescoes in Sta. Maria Donna Regina, with the exception of the stories of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, were inspired and probably designed by a single dominating personality, who was undoubtedly Pietro Cavallini. Like other artists he made constant use of assistants, including a Sienese painter, who found it hard to free himself from his native traditions.

Although our master appears to have exerted considerable influence over local Neapolitan painters, no other works attributable to him are to be found in Naples. Hermanin ascribes to Cavallini the mosaic decoration of the chapel of the *Madonna del principio* in Sta. Restituta adjoining the Naples cathedral. The mosaics, which represent the Madonna and Saints Gennaro and Restituta, bear the inscription, HOC OPUS FECIT LELLUS. This would seem sufficient evidence against such a supposition, but Hermanin attempts to prove that the Virgin and Child are by a different hand and earlier in date than the flanking saints. However all the figures have precisely the same rendering of details, and are clearly the work of a single artist. This Lello shows no influence whatever of Cavallini, and would appear to have been educated in the Sienese traditions and under the domination of Simone Martini. In fact the heads are so beautiful in their expression, and

[1] Pl. 69, Fig. 2.

[2] Pl. 70. Inscribed: CERAPH(IM); ARCHAN(GELI). There are also fragmentary inscriptions relating to the mystic significance of the names of three Archangels: INTERPRETATUR SICUT DEVS; VIRTUS DEI RAPHAEL MEDICINA DEI; NUMTIANS CONSTANS ORATIONIBUS.

so evidently inspired by the latter painter, that one is tempted to credit him with some part in their design.

In Sta. Restituta there are also fragmentary frescoes of *saints in cathedra* which show some influence of Cavallini's style; as does the head of a much repainted *Redeemer* in the adjoining baptistery. In the cathedral itself, the chapel of S. Lorenzo contains a great fresco representing the *Tree of Jesse* which repeats our painter. This chapel was erected before the year 1320. There is also preserved in the cathedral of Salerno a *Baptism of Christ* by some close follower, who may well have been one of Cavallini's assistants in Sta. Maria Donna Regina. Forms, which appear derived both from the Roman School and Simone Martini, are to be found in a frescoed lunette over the cloister doorway of S. Lorenzo in Naples. These two influences seemed to have dominated the local Neapolitan schools throughout the greater part of the 14th century, notwithstanding that Giotto lived in Naples and worked for king Robert between the years 1328-1338. Count Filangieri has also suggested that the decorations in S. Antonio Abate at Raviscanina which were painted as late as the first quarter of the fifteenth century reflect to some extent Cavallini's art [1].

---

[1] A. Filangieri di Candida, *Tardi riflessi dell'Arte di Pietro Cavallini nel Quattrocento. Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana*, Napoli, 1908, vol. XXXVIII.

Four Scenes from *the Life of Constantine.*

Rome, *SS. Quattro Coronati.*

See p. 78.

Mosaic of Apse. Rome, *Sta. Maria in Trastevere.*

See p. 80.

+hVMANI GENERIS SATOR ET QVI PARCERE LAPSIS
INSTITVIS MACVLAS VETERIS RVBIGINIS AVFER
ARGENTO THALAMVS TIBI SIT QVO VIRGO REFVLGENS

Nativity of the Virgin. Rome, *Sta. Maria in Trastevere.* See p. 80.

Fig. 1, *Annunciation.*

Fig. 2, *Nativity.* Rome, *Sta. Maria in Trastevere.*

See p. 80.

Fig. 1, *Adoration.*

See p. 80.

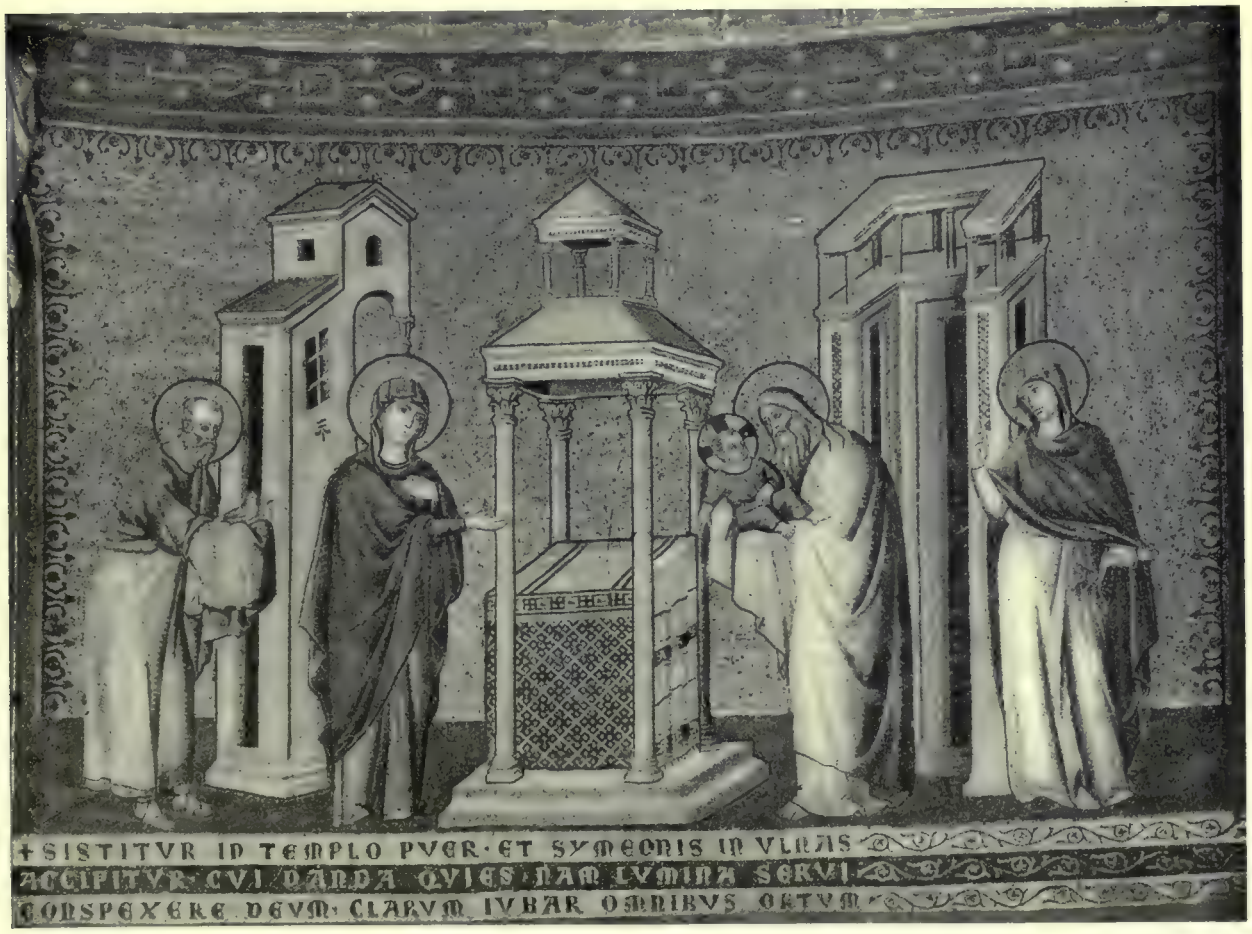
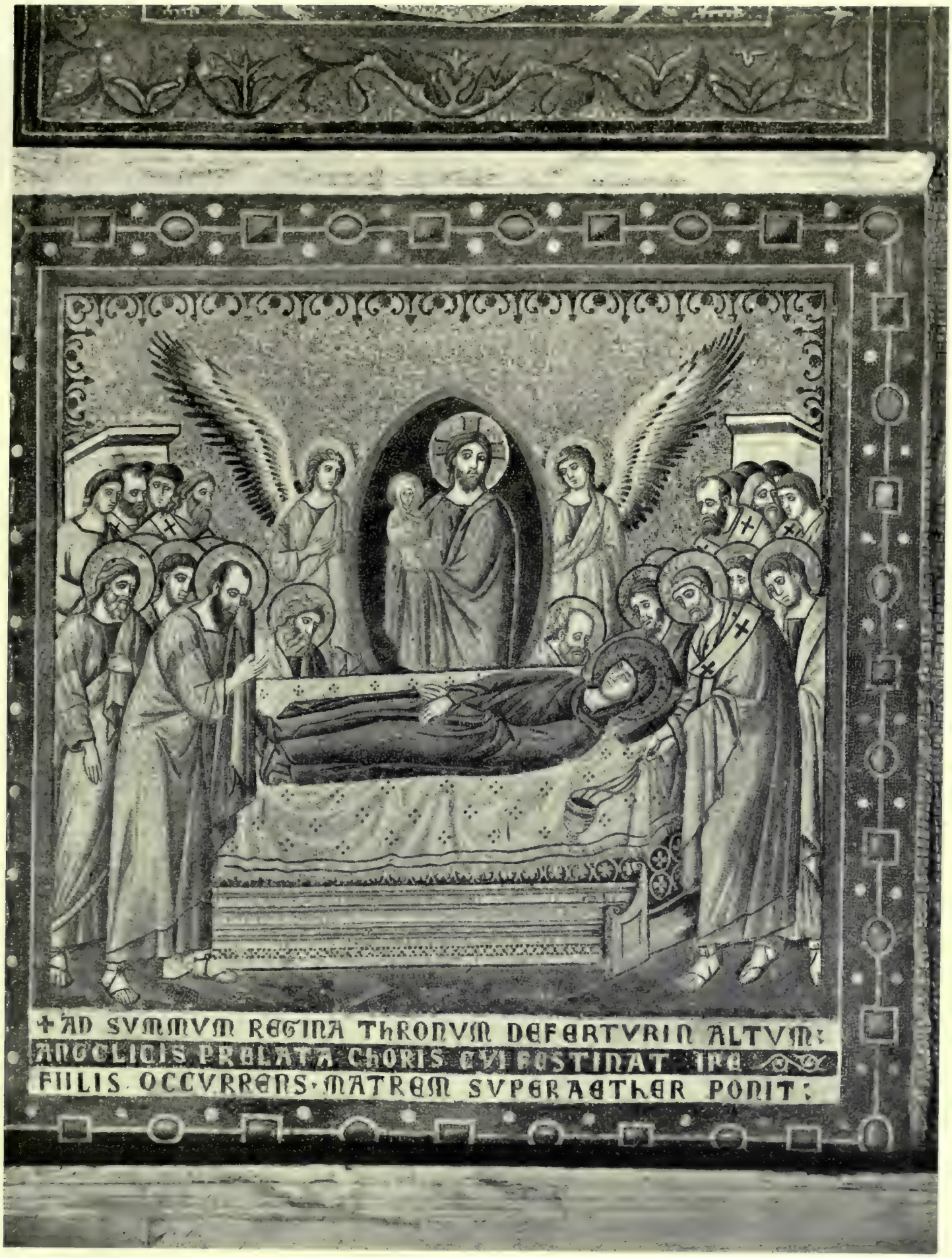

+SISTITVR IN TEMPLO PVER·ET SYMEONIS IN VLNAS
ACCIPITVR·CVI·DANDA QVIES·IAM LVMINA SERVI
CONSPEXERE DEVM·CLARVM IVBAR OMNIBVS ORTVM

Fig. 2, *Presentation in the Temple.* Rome, *Sta. Maria in Trastevere.*

See p. 81.


+AD SVMMVM REGINA THRONVM DEFERTVRIN ALTVM:
ANGELICIS PRELATA CHORIS CVI RESTINAT IPA
FILIS OCCVRRENS·MATREM SVPERATHER PONIT:

Death of the Virgin. Rome, *Sta. Maria in Trastevere.*

See p. 81.

Last Judgment.

e, Sta. Cecilia.

See p. 82.

Detail : *Christ.* Rome, *Sta. Cecilia.*

See p. 82.

Fig. 1, *St. John Baptist and Apostles.*

Fig. 2, *Madonna and Apostles.* Rome, *Sta. Cecilia.*

See p. 82 f.

Two Apostles. Rome, *Sta. Cecilia.*

See p. 83.

Heads of Apostles.

Rome, *Sta. Cecilia.*

See p. 83.

Angels. Rome, *Sta. Cecilia.*

See p. 83.

Fig. 1, *Angel and the Blessed.*

Fig. 2, *Annunciation.* Rome, *Sta. Cecilia.* See p. 83.

Fig. 1, *Saint in Armour.*

Fig. 2, *King asleep.* Rome, *Vatican Library.*

See p. 84.

Madonna and Child. Rome, *S. Crisogono.*

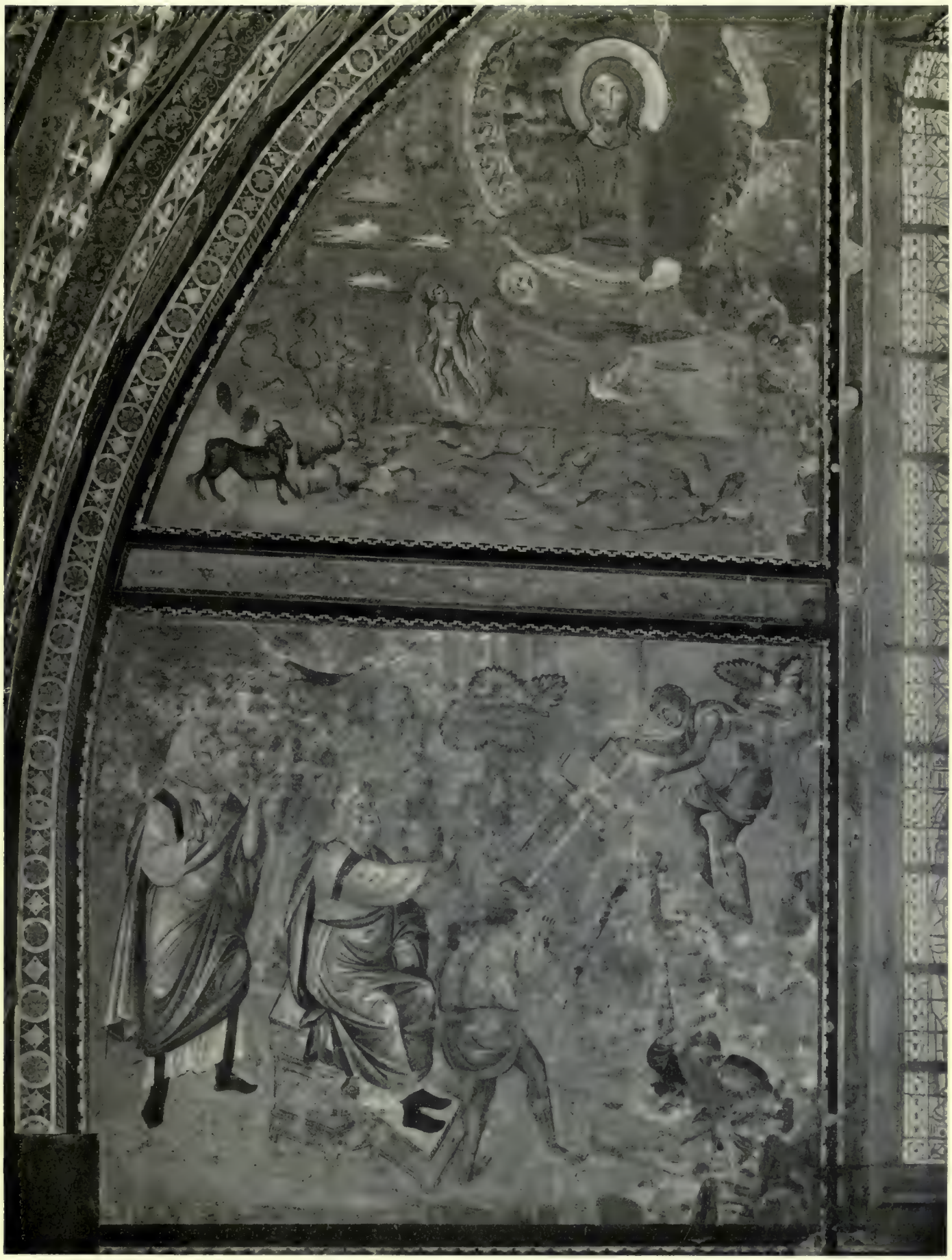
See p. 85.

Christ in Benediction. Rome, *S. Giorgio in Velabro.*

See p. 85.

Tomb of Cardinal Matteo. Rome, *Sta. Maria in Aracoeli.*

See p. 86.



Separation of Light from Darkness.
Building of the Ark.

Assisi, *S. Francesco.*

See p. 86 f.

Sacrifice of Isaac. Assisi, *S. Francesco.*

See p. 87.

Fig. 1, *Deception of Isaac.* Assisi, *S. Francesco.*

Fig. 2, *Esau demanding his Father's Blessing.*

See p. 87

Fig. 1, *Joseph and his Brethren.*

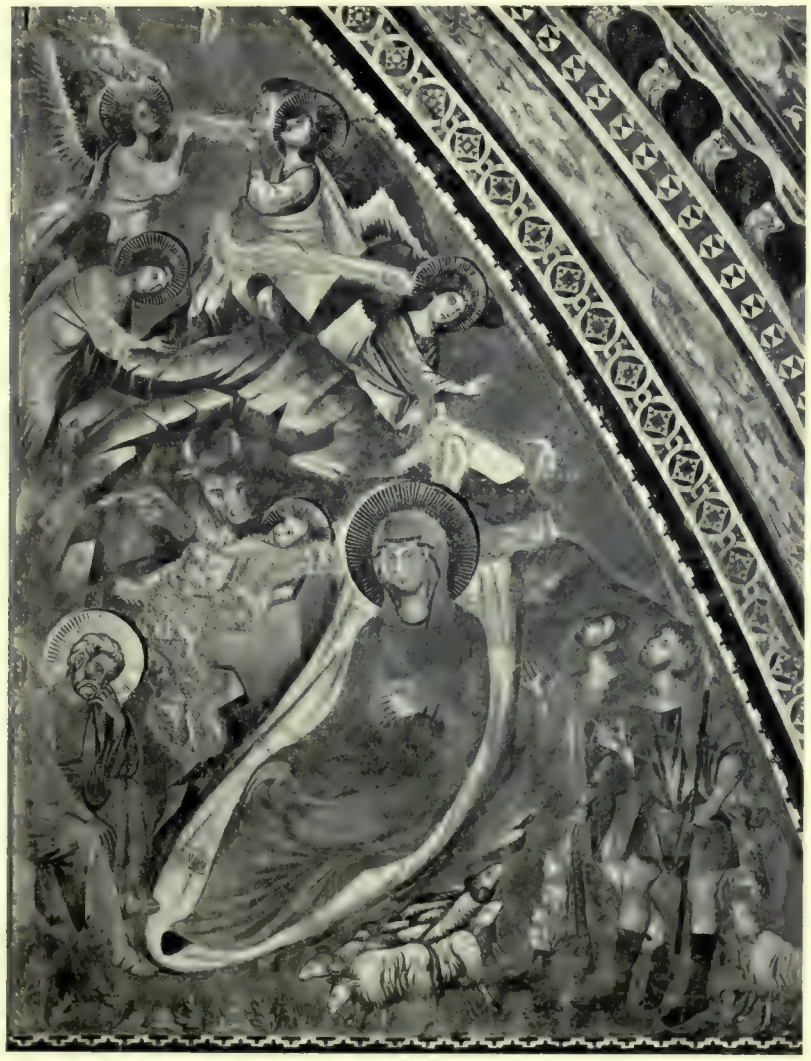


Fig. 2, *The Nativity.* Assisi, *S. Francesco.*

See p. 88.

Fig. 1, *The Betrayal.*

Fig. 2, *The Deposition.* Assisi, *S. Francesco.*

See p. 89.

Moses and the Burning Bush.

See p. 91.

Perugia, *Palazzo Comunale.*

Fig. 1, *Creation of Eve.* Perugia, *Palazzo Comunale.*

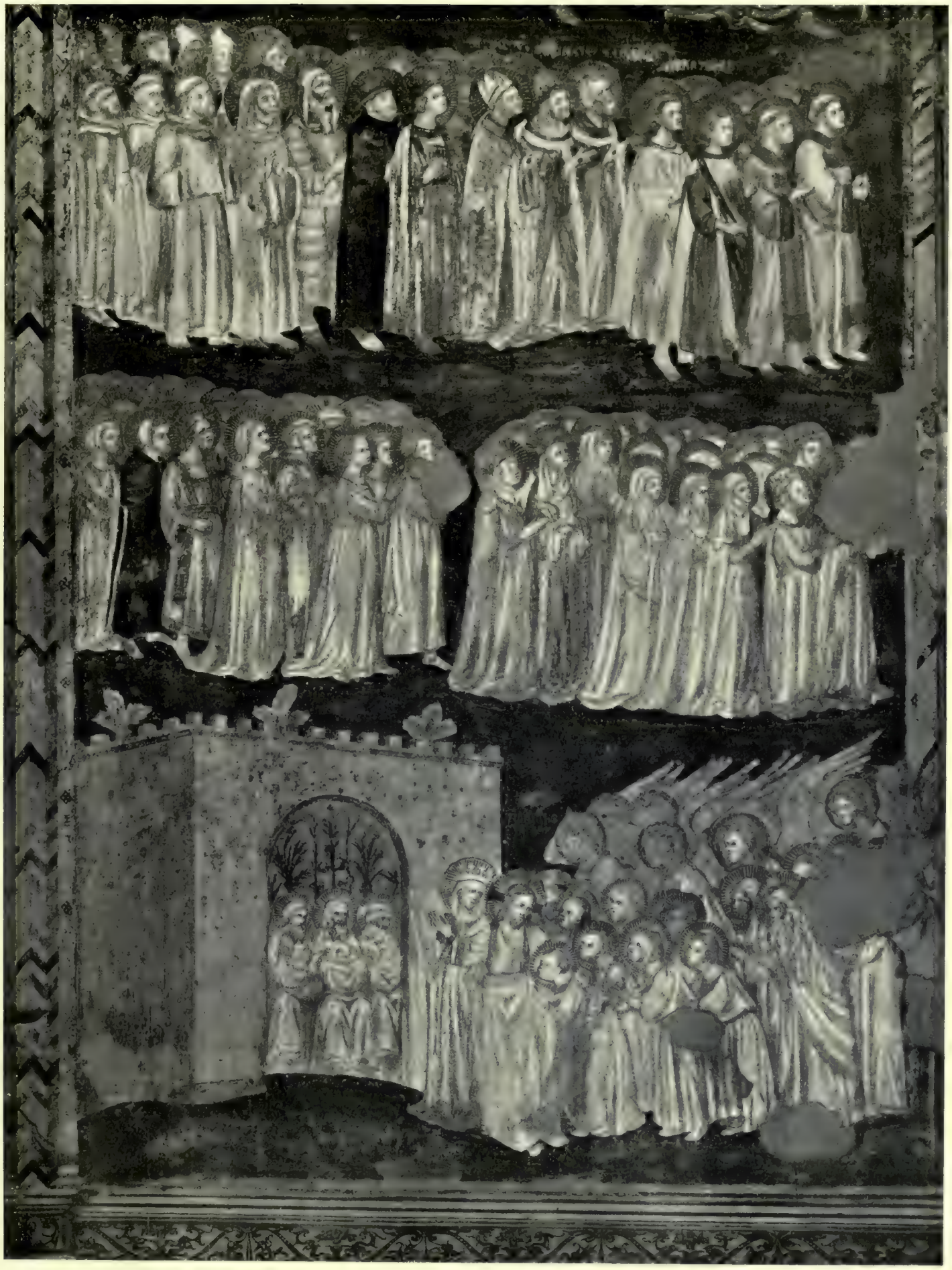
Fig. 2, *Sacrifices of Cain and Abel.*

See p. 91 f.

Detail of *Paradise.*

See p. 94.

Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.*



Detail : *The Blessed.* Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.*

See p. 94.

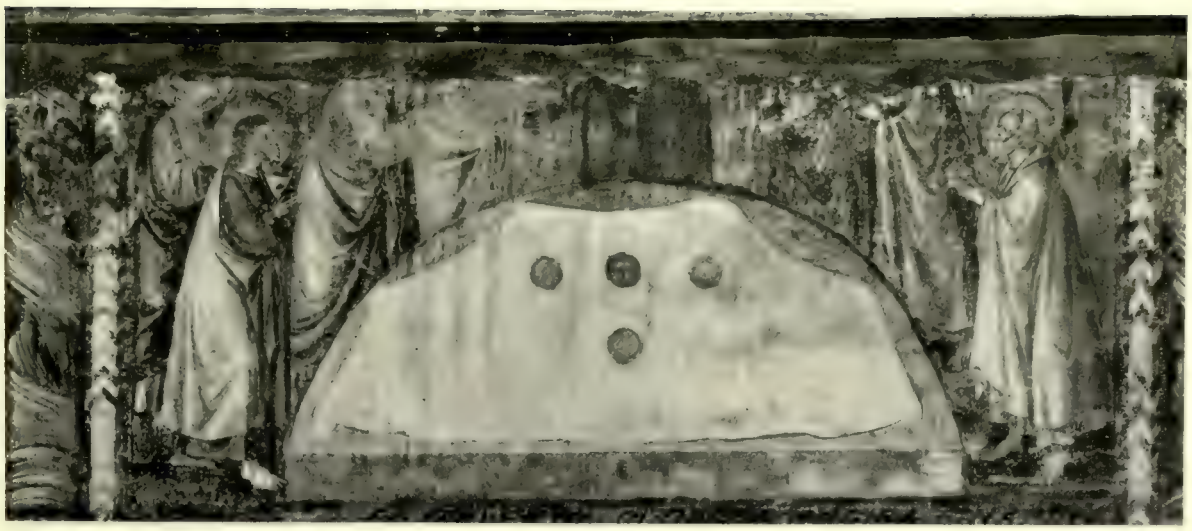


Fig. 1, *The Last Supper.*

Fig. 2, *Christ washing his Disciples' Feet.*

Fig. 3, *The Garden of Gethsemane.*

Fig. 4, *The Betrayal.* Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.*

See p. 94.

The Flagellation. Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.*

See p. 95.

Christ led to Pilate. Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.*

See p. 95.

Detail of *Christ led to Pilate.* Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.*

See p. 95.

Ecce Homo; Christ on the Road to Calvary. Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.*

See p. 95.

Christ fastened to the Cross. Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.*

See p. 95.

Detail of *Christ fastened to the Cross.* Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.* See p. 95.

Fig. 1, *The Crucifixion.*

Fig. 2, *The Deposition.* Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.*

See p. 95.

Fig. 1, *Christ in Limbus.*

Fig. 2, *Christ appearing to the three Marys.* Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.*

See p. 95.

The Doubting of Thomas. Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.*

See p. 95.

Detail of *The Doubting of Thomas.* Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.* See p. 95.

The Supper at Emmaus; the Breaking of Bread. Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.*

See p. 95.

Detail : *Head of St. Thomas.* Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.* See p. 96.

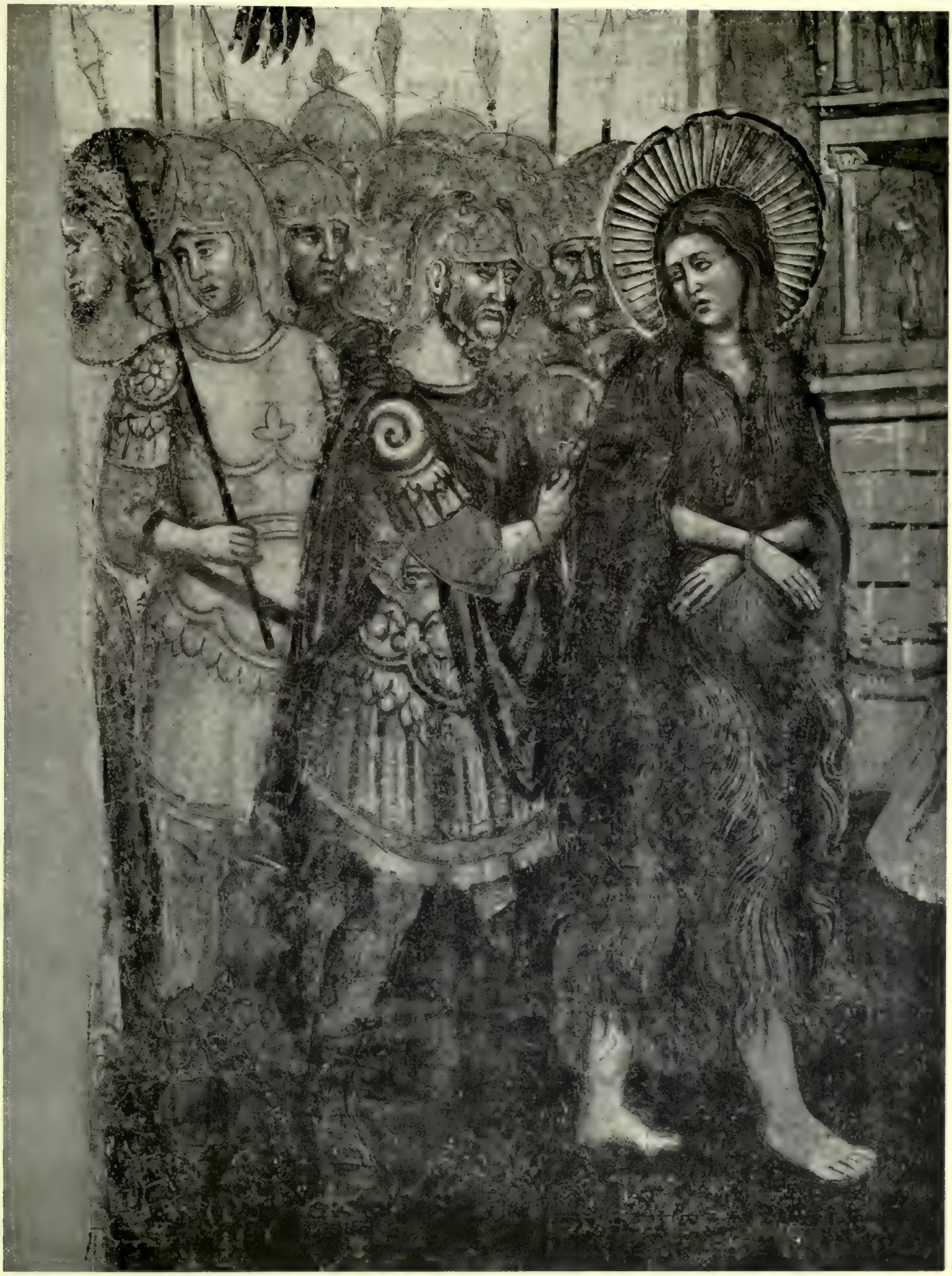
The Prophet Haggai and St. Philip. Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.*

See p. 96.

Detail of Plate 65.

St. Agnes conducted to a House of Ill-Fame. Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.*

See p. 96.



Detail of Plate 67.

Fig. 1, *Martyrdom of St. Agnes.*

Fig. 2, *St. Agnes appears to the Daughter of Constantine.* Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.* See p. 96 f.

Thrones, Dominions, and Archangels. Naples, *Sta. Maria Donna Regina.*

See p. 97.

INDEX

Annales Maximi, 57, 60, 63 f.
Arae turicremae, 15.
Arulae, see Terracotta Arulae.
Archives, Roman, 55-65.
Assisi, Church of S. Francesco, 86-90, 94 f.
Augustus, restores temple of Juno, 63.

Bramante, designs for Vatican courts, 11.

Caementa, in temples of Castor, Concord and Saturn, 58 f.
Camillus, builds temple of Juno, 63.
Capitolium at Pompeii, 68-70, 76.
Carthage, first treaty with Rome, 55.
Cassius, Spurius, treaty with Latins, 56.
Cavallini, Pietro:
  Codex Barberinianus, 79 f., 84, 86 f.
  Connection with Giotto, 77 f., 87 f., 90.
  Frescoes: Assisi, Church of S. Francesco, 86-90, 94 f. Naples, Sta. Maria Donna Regina, 89, 93-98. Perugia, Sala dei Notari, 90–93. Rome, Church of S. Crisogono, 79, 84 f. Rome, Church of S. Francesco a Ripa, 79. Rome, Church of S. Paolo, 79, 84, 90. Rome, Church of S. Pietro, Old, 79. Rome, Church of SS. Quattro Coronati, 77 f. Rome, Church of Sta. Cecilia, 77 f., 82-85, 93–97.
  Frescoes in the style of: Rome, Church of S. Giorgio in Velabro, 85. Rome, Church of Sta. Maria in Aracoeli, 86. Naples, Church of S. Lorenzo, 98. Raviscanina, Church of S. Antonio Abate, 98. Salerno, Cathedral, 98.
  Mosaics by, Rome, S. Crisogono, 85. Rome, S. Paolo, 79, 84. Rome, Sta. Maria in Trastevere, 78-81, 84-86, 88.
  Mosaics in the style of, Naples, Cathedral, Chapel of Sta. Restituta, 97 f.
  Works cited by Ghiberti, 79, 83 f.
  Works cited by Vasari, 77 f., 81, 83, 85.
  Works executed for the Brothers Stefaneschi, 80, 85 f.
  Works executed for Charles II, 79, 93.
Curia at Pompeii, 73.

Damophilus, 62.
Delphi, arulae from, 50 n. 1.
Domitian, restores temple of Castor (?), 59.
Domitius Calvinus, restores Regia, 59.

Expiatio, 58.

Fidenae, statues of ambassadors to, 60, 63.
Forum at Pompeii, 67-76.

Gabii, treaty with Tarquinius Superbus, 56, 61 f.
Gallic Fire and Roman Archives, 55-65.
Gauls, religiosity of, 64.
Gorgasus, 62.

Hadrian, restores temple of Castor (?), 59.
Horatius Cocles, statue of, 63 f.

Ianus at Pompeii, 72 f.

Latins, treaties with Servius Tullius and Sp. Cassius, 56.
Leges XII. Tabularum, 56, 60, 65.
Leges in Temple of Saturn, 65.
Lello, mosaicist, 97 f.
Lex arae Dianae in Aventino, 62.
Lex Icilia, 56, 62.
Lex Licinia Iunia, 56.
Loryma, sculptured base from, 47, 50.

Messapian inscriptions, 22.
Metellus Dalmaticus, L. Caecilius, 59.
Minucius, L., statue of, 63.

Naples, Cathedral, Chapel of Sta. Restituta, 97 f.; Church of S. Lorenzo, 98; Sta. Maria Donna Regina, 93-98.
Numa, builds Regia, 59.

Perugia, Sala dei Notari, 90-93.
Pompeii, Capitolium, 68-70, 76; Cult statues of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, 68-70; Forum, 67-76; arch at S. end of Forum, 72 f.; Curia, 73; inscription on pavement of Forum, 70 f.; school building, 73-75.
Pontifical records, 56.
Pythagoras of Regium, 48.

Raviscanina, Church of S. Antonio Abate, 98.
Rome, Aedes Romuli, 61.
  Capitoline, 56 f., 59.
  Capture by the Gauls, 55-65.
  Church of S. Crisogono, 79, 84 f.; S. Francesco a Ripa, 79; S. Giorgio in Velabro, 85; S. Paolo, 79,

84, 90; S. Pietro, Old, 79; SS. Quattro Coronati, 77 f.; Sta. Cecilia, 77 f., 82-85, 93-97; Sta. Maria in Aracoeli, 86; Sta. Maria in Trastevere, 78-81, 84, 86, 88.
Fifth Sacrarium of the Argei, 61.
Forum, 58-61.
Lautumiae, 59.
Palatine, 59, 61, 64; Palace of Domitian, 11.
Piazza di S. Pietro, 11.
Ponte Senatorio, 11.
Regia, 56, 59, 64.
Rostra, 56, 60, 64.
Statues, 63 f.
Temple of Apollo, 60 f., 64; Castor, 59, 64; Ceres, 56, 62 f., 64 f.; Concord, 59; Diana, 56, 62, 64; Dius Fidius, 56, 61 f., 64; Juno, 63 f.; Jupiter Capitolinus, 55; Mars Ultor, 11; Saturn, 56, 58, 64 f.; Victoria on Palatine, 61.
Vatican, Cortile del Belvedere and della Pigna, 11.
Walls, 57.

Salerno, Cathedral, 98.
School building at Pompeii, 73-75.
Senatus consulta in temple of Ceres, 65.
Servius Tullius, builds temple of Diana on Aventine, 62; other temples attributed to him, 63; treaty with Latins, 56.
Settignano, Villa Gamberaia, 13 f.
Sienese painter, influenced by Simone Martini, 94 f.

" Table-leg " altars, 50.
Tanaquil, 61.
Tarquinius Superbus, treaty with Gabii, 56, 61 f.; temple of Dius Fidius, 61.
Terracotta arulae, from Agrigentum, 37, 49; Apulia, 22, 47; Ardea, 37, 53; Bacucco, 36, 50, 53; Caere, 30, 42, 53; Calvi, 28, 29, 33, 53; Cannita, 22; Cape Boeo, 20; Capua, 32, 40, 42, 44, 53; Caulonia, 17-21, 23-27, 34, 47, 52, 53; Centuripae, 19, 47, 53; Conca, 45, 46; Croton, 29, 33, 34, 52; Falerii, 29, 40, 42–44, 53; Gela, 19, 38, 46, 52; Genzano, 32; Hadria, 36, 50, 53; Lanuvium, 24, 27, 32, 33, 38, 46, 53; Locri, 18-21, 23, 25, 34, 37, 38, 46, 47, 52, 53; Metaurum, 24, 52; Motya, 19-22, 25, 27, 46, 47, 52; Nazzano, 44; Nemi, 32; Nepete, 40, 53; Ostia, 46; Palermo, 37, 49, 53; Poggioreale, 18, 20; Rome, 23, 25-33, 35, 36, 38-46, 49, 52, 53; Rosarno Medma, 19, 24, 35, 39, 40, 50, 52; Ruvo, 22; S. Mauro, 18-21, 23, 25, 34, 37, 38, 46, 47, 52, 53; Selinus, 19, 22, 24, 47, 52, 53; Syracuse, 18, 28, 46, 52; Taranto, 18, 19, 30, 46; Velletri, 42, 45, 53.
Terracottas, architectural, from Palatine, 61.
Thédenat, H., theory concerning Forum at Pompeii, 75 f.
Tivoli, Hadrian's Villa, 12 f.
Treaty between Romans and Latins, 62; between Rome and Carthage, 55; between Tarquinius Superbus and Gabii, 56, 61.
Twelve Tables, 56, 60, 65.

Van Deman, E. B., 58.
Veii, temples survived Roman conquest, 64; wooden image of Juno from, 63.
Vespasian, restores Capitoline temples, 55.

INDEX LOCORUM

Aesop, (ed. Teubner 274), 91; (5, 33 B, 204, 233, 276, 278), 92.

Cato, (*ap.* Gellius II, 28), 56.
Cicero, *Balb.*, (53), 56; (55), 62.
de Divin., (I, 17, 30), 57.
de Leg., (II, 4, 9), 60.
de Or., (II, 52), 56.
Phil., (IX, 2, 4), 60, 63.
pro Scaur., (46), 59.
in Toga Cand., (frg. 19: Müll., 6, 3, p. 265; Clark, 80 f., p. 90), 60.
in Verr., (II, i, 154), 59.
Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, (I^2, p. 234), 57; (p. 259), 56; (p. 308), 59; (p. 319), 61; (p. 337), 58; (III, 1933), 62; (VI, 568), 61; (1316), 58; (X, 807), 71; (6087), 58; (6305 f.), 71; (XI, 361), 62; (XII, 4333), 62.

Dio Cassius, (48, 42), 59; (50, 10), 62; (55, 27), 59.
Diodorus Siculus, (XII, 26), 56; (XIV, 115, 6; 116, 8), 57.
Dionysius Halicarnassensis, (I, 32, 5), 61; (IV, 25, 4; 26), 62; (IV, 26), 56; (58), 26, 56, 61; (V, 25), 63; (VI, 1, 4), 58; (VI, 13, 4), 59; (VI, 94), 62; (VIII, 79), 63; (IX, 60), 61; (X, 32), 62; (X, 57), 56; (XII, 4), 63; (XIII, 3), 63; (XIV, 2), 57.

Ephemeris Epigraphica, (III, p. 65), 58; (VIII, p. 156, no. 635), 71.

Fasti Praenestini (*ad X. Kal. Apr.*), 57.
Festus, (p. 56 M.), 56; (p. 165 b, 26 M.), 62; (p. 238-241 M.), 61.
Florus, (I, 7, 15), 56.

Gellius, (II, 28), 56; (IV, 5, 4), 63.

Horace, *Epist.*, (II, 1, 25), 61.
Od., (I, 2, 15), 59.

Livy, (I, 45), 62; (II, 10, 12), 63; (II, 21, 2), 58; (II, 33, 9), 56; (II, 34, 3), 62; (II, 41, 10), 63; (II, 42, 5), 59; (III, 55, 13), 56; (III, 57, 10), 56; (IV, 16, 2), 63; (IV, 17, 6), 63; (IV, 29, 7), 60; (V, 22 and 31), 63; (V, 41–43; 50, 2; 51–55), 57; (V, 52, 10), 63; (VI, 1), 55; (VI, 4), 57; (VII, 2), 49; (VII, 20, 9), 58 and 60; (XXVI, 27), 59; (XXXIX, 4, 8), 56; (XL, 51, 6), 60.

Nonius Marcellus, (p. 498 M.), 56.

Obsequens, (19), 59.
Orosius, (II, 19, 13), 56.
Ovid, *Fasti*, (I, 705), 59; (VI, 213 f.), 61.
Tristia, (III, 1, 30 f.), 59.

Pliny, *N. H.*, (VIII, 194), 61; (XVIII, 15), 63; (XXXIV, 15), 63; (XXXIV, 21 f.), 63 f.; (XXXIV, 23), 63; (XXXV, 154), 62; (XXXV, 157), 64.
Plutarch, *Camillus*, (VI), 63; (XXVIII, 2), 56; (XXX-XXXII), 57.
Publicola, (XVI), 63.
Polybius, (II, 22, 5), 56; (III, 22, 4; 26), 55 f.

Servius, *Aen.*, (I, 373), 56; (VIII, 652), 56.
Silvius, *Cal.* (*C. I. L.* I^2, p. 259, Febr. 13), 56.
Suetonius, *Aug.*, (29), 58.
Tib., (20), 59.
Vesp., (8), 56.

Tacitus, *Ann.*, (II, 49), 62; (XV, 41), 59.

Valerius Maximus, (I, 8, 3), 63.
Varro, *L. L.*, (V, 43), 62.
(*ap.* Nonius Marcellinus, p. 498 M.), 56.
Vitruvius, (I, 4, 2), 74; (III, 3, 5), 62; (V, 2), 73.

DG
12
A575
v.2

American Academy in Rome
Memoirs

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

CIRCULATE AS MONOGRAPH

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
LIBRARY